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This book is by before and generally known as
"Memoirs of a Cavalier".

This edit is not in rounds.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
Civil Wars in *Germany*,
From the Year 1630 to 1635 :
A L S O ,
G E N U I N E M E M O I R S
O F T H E
Wars of *England*,
I N T H E
Unhappy Reign of *Charles* the First ;

C O N T A I N I N G

*The whole History of those miserable Times, until
the King lost his Head on the Scaffold, in the
memorable Year 1648.*



Written by a *Shropshire* Gentleman,
Who personally served under the King of *Sweden*, in *Ger-
many* ; and on the Royal Side, during the unhappy Con-
tests in *England*.

N E W A R K :
Printed by JAMES TOMLINSON,
For the Publisher, in 1782.

270. e. 247.



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T H E

Editor's P R E F A C E.

THESE Memoirs, now offered to the Public, came into my Hands many Years since ; and, having at different Periods, been perused by several Gentlemen, Clergy, &c. who expressed a Desire to see them printed, that they might be the better conveyed to Posterity : In Consequence, a Subscription was lately opened, which has enabled me to bring them into the World in their present State.

I flatter myself in conjecturing they will prove an entertaining History, and be a Means of inculcating in an easy, pleasing Manner, in the Minds of those who before were not acquainted with the Events of these Wars, a perfect Knowledge of every Battle, Siege, and particular Circumstance that happened in those troublesome Times ;
as

as well as a particular Account of the Agility, Conduct and Bravery of the Commanders on both Sides, and in both Wars; and as they are as great and memorable Actions as almost ever were in the World, I hope they will not fail exciting Marks of Approbation, even from those who have read different Authors on the same Matter; as they will consider, there is scarce an Action related, in which our Author did not act a principal Part, and, consequently, the Narrative must be genuine and incontrovertible, as believe, it is candid, ingenuous and impartial.

In the Prosecution of this Work, a strict Regard has been paid to the Author's own Copy; no other Alteration having been made, but such as the Difference in Orthography the last and present Century have made necessary.

Who the Writer was, it is impossible, at this distance of Time, precisely to determine; that he was a Gentleman of a good Family, at the beginning of last Century, resident at Shrewsbury, in Shropshire, there can be no Doubt, as the Hero himself fully testifies. That the Family were great Sufferers in the Event of the War, is but too obvious, and for which all good Men, of every Denomination, must feel Compassion.

It would ill become me to say more on the Subject: I must sincerely return hearty Thanks to all my Friends and kind Subscribers, for their generous Support, by enabling me to print the following Detail of the unhappy Wars in Germany, and of the Miseries attending a long civil War in England, that had nearly ruined these Kingdoms; and wish, at the same Time (as the Contrary would give me Unhappiness) it may reach their highest Expectation, and give general Satisfaction.

I am,

The Public's

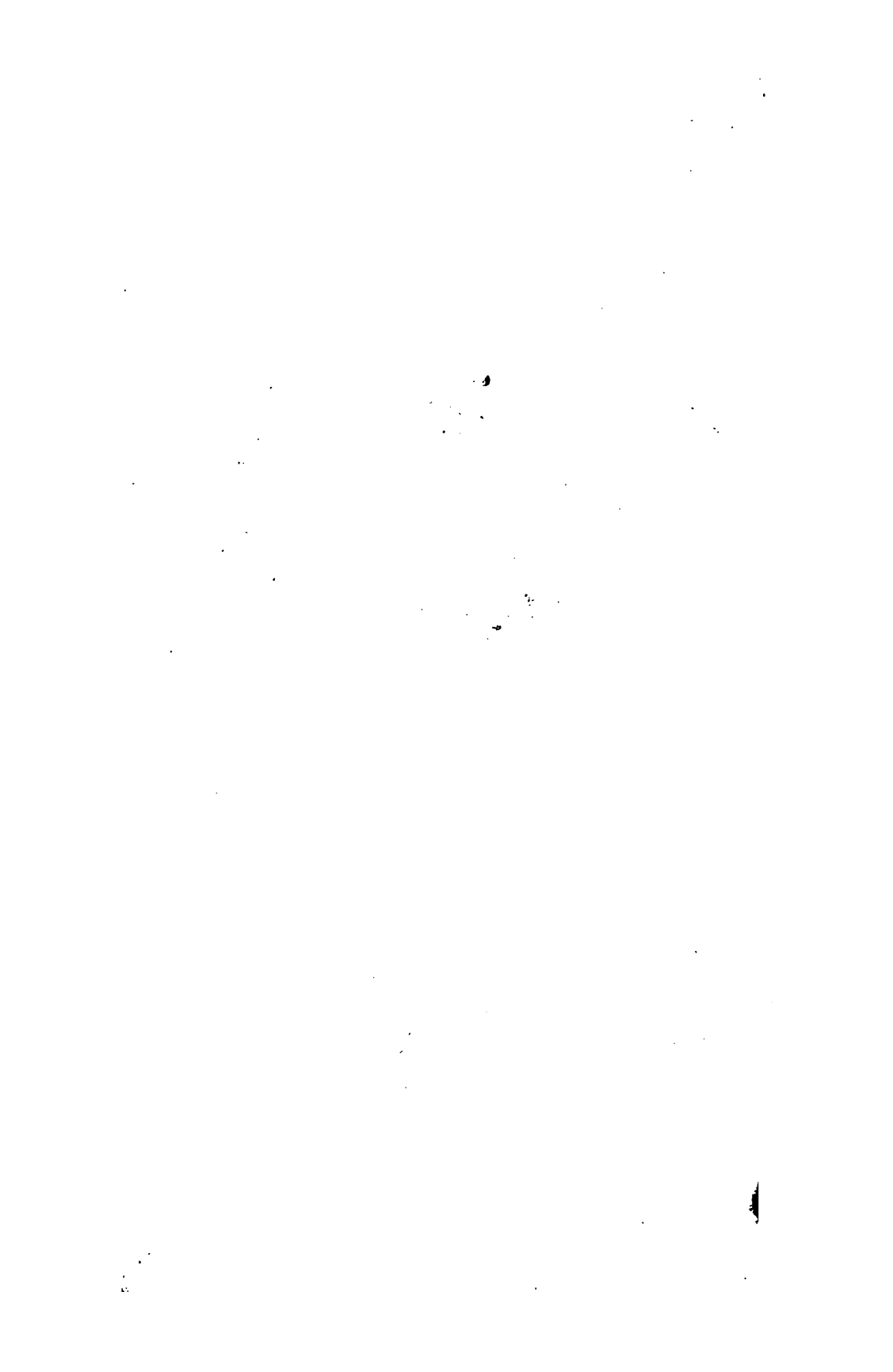
Much obliged and

Very humble Servant,

E. STAVELEY.

N. wark, July 1st, 1782.

MEMOIRS



to bed of a son, and that all the while she was in labour, a man stood under her window beating on a kettle-drum, which discomposed her very much.

My father was a gentleman of a very plentiful fortune; having an estate of above 5000*l.* per annum, of a family nearly allied to several of the principal nobility, and lived about six miles from the town: and my mother being at—— on some particular occasion, was surprised there at a friend's house, and brought me very safe into the world.

I was my father's second son, and therefore, was not altogether so much slighted as younger sons of good families generally are. But my father saw something in my genius which particularly pleased him, and caused him to take extraordinary care of my education.—I was instructed therefore, by the best masters that could be had, every thing that was needful to accomplish a young gentleman for the world; and at seventeen years old, my tutor told my father an academic education was very necessary for a person of quality, and he thought me very fit for it: my father, in consequence, entered me of—— college, *Oxford*, where I was three years.

A collegiate life did not suit me at all, though I loved books very well. It was never designed that I should be either a lawyer, physician or divine. I thought I had been long enough at college, for a gentleman, and wrote to my father, that I was desirous, by his leave, to pay him a visit.

During

During my stay at *Oxford*, though I passed through the proper exercises of the house, yet my chief reading were history and geography, as those pleased my mind best, and supplied me with ideas most suitable to my genius: by one I understood what great actions had been done in the world; and by the other, I understood where they had been done.

My father readily complied with my desire of coming home; and besides that he thought, as I did, that three years at the university was enough, he also most passionately loved me, and began to think of my settling near him.

At my arrival I found myself extraordinarily caressed by my father, and he seemed to take a particular delight in my conversation. My mother, who lived in perfect union with him, both in desires and affection, received me very passionately. Apartments were provided for me alone, and horses and servants allowed me.

My father never went a hunting, an exercise he was exceedingly fond of, but he would have me with him; and it pleased him when he found me like the sport. I lived thus, in all the pleasure possible for me to enjoy, for about a year; when going out one morning with my father to hunt a stag, and having had a very hard chase, and got a great way from home, we had leisure enough to ride gently back: and as we returned, my father took occasion to enter into a serious discourse with me concerning the manner of my settling in the world.—He told me, with a great deal of tenderness, that he loved me above all
the

the rest of his children, and therefore intended to do well for me; that my eldest brother being already married and settled, he had designed the same for me, and proposed a very advantageous match with a young lady of very extraordinary fortune and merit, and offered to make me a settlement of 2000l. per annum, which he said he could purchase for me without diminishing his paternal estate.

There was too much kindness and affection in this discourse not to affect me exceedingly. I told him, I would perfectly resign myself to his will. But, as my father had, together with his love for me, a very nice judgment in his discourse, he fixt his eyes very attentively on mine; and though my answers were without the least reserve, yet he thought he saw some uneasiness in me at the proposal, and from thence concluded that my compliance was rather an act of discretion than inclination; and, though I seemed so absolutely given up to what he had proposed, yet my answers were really an effect of my obedience rather than my choice: so he returned very quick upon me, "look you, son, though I give you my own thoughts on the matter, yet I would have you be very plain with me; for if your sentiments do not agree with mine, I will be your adviser, but will never impose upon you; and therefore, let me know your mind freely." "I do not reckon myself capable, Sir," said I, with a great deal of respect, "to make so good a choice for myself as you can for me; and though my opinion differed
from

from yours, its being your opinion would reform mine, and my judgment would as readily comply as my duty." "I gather at least from thence," said my father, "that your designs lay another way before, however they may comply with mine: and, therefore, I would know what it was you would asked of me if I had not offered this to you; and you must not deny me your obedience in this, if you expect I should believe your readiness in the other."

"Sir," said I, "it was impossible I should lay out for myself just what you have proposed; but if my inclinations were never so contrary, at your command they shall be made known, yet I declare them to be wholly subject to your order: I confess, my thoughts did not tend towards marriage or a settlement; for though I had no reason to question your care of me, yet I thought a gentleman ought always to see something of the world before he confined himself to any particular part of it; and if I had asked your consent to any thing, it would have been to give me leave to travel for a short time, in order to qualify myself that I may appear at home like a son to so good a father."

"In what capacity would you travel?" replied my father. "You must go abroad either as a private gentleman, as a scholar, or as a soldier." "If it were in the latter capacity, Sir," said I, returning pretty quick, "I hope I should not dishonour myself; but I am not so determined as not to be ruled by your judgment." "Truly," replied my father, "I see no war abroad at this time

time worth a man's appearing in, whether we talk of the cause or the encouragement; and, indeed, son, I am afraid you need not go far for adventures of that nature, for things seem to look as if this part of *Europe* would find us work enough." My father then spake relating to the quarrel likely to happen between the King of *England* and the *Spaniards*,* for I believe he had no notion of a civil war in his head.

In short, my father perceiving my inclinations very forward for travelling, gave me leave, upon condition I would promise to return in two years at farthest, or sooner, if he sent for me.

While I was at *Oxford*, I happened into the society of a young gentleman, of a good family, but of low fortune, being a younger brother, and who had indeed instilled into me the first desire of going abroad, and whom I knew passionately longed to travel, but had not sufficient allowance to defray his expences as a gentleman. We had contracted a very close friendship, and our tempers being very agreeable to each other, we daily enjoyed the conversation of letters. He was of a generous, free disposition, without the least affectation or deceit; a handsome, proper person, strong body, very good mien, and brave to the last degree: his name was *Fielding*, and we called him captain, though a very unusual title in a college; but Fate had some hand in the

* Upon the breach of the treaty between the King of *England* and the Infanta of *Spain*; and particularly upon the old quarrel betwixt the King of *Bohemia* and the *Papists*.

the appellation, for he had certainly the lines of a soldier drawn in his countenance. I imparted to him the resolutions I had taken, and that I had my father's consent to go abroad; and would gladly know his mind, whether he would accompany me: he wrote me word, he would with all his heart.

My father, when he saw him, for I sent for him immediately to come to me, very much approved my choice; so we got our equipage ready, and came away for *London*.

It was on the 22d of *April*, 1630, when we embarked at *Dover*, landed in a few hours at *Calais*, and immediately took post for *Paris*. I shall not trouble the reader with a journal of my travels, nor with the description of places; which every geographer can do better than I; but these *Memoirs* being only a relation of what happened to ourselves, or in our own knowledge, I shall confine myself to that part only.

We had indeed some diverting passages in our journey to *Paris*; first, the horse my companion rode upon fell so very lame with a slip that he could not go, and scarcely stand: and the fellow that rid with us express, pretended to ride to a town five miles distant to get a fresh horse, and so left us on the road with one horse betwixt us: we followed as well as we could, but being strangers, missed the way, and wandered much out of the road. Whether the man performed in reasonable time, or not, we could not be sure; but if it had not been for an old priest, we had never found him. We met this good
man

man by accident, near a little village whereof he was curate : we spoke *Latin* enough just to make him understand us, and he did not speak it much better himself ; but he took us into the village to his house, gave us wine and bread, and entertained us with wonderful courtesy. After this he sent into the village, hired a peasant, and a horse for my captain, and sent him to guide us into the road. At parting he made a great many compliments to us in *French*, which we could just understand ; but the sum was, to excuse him for a question he was inclined to ask. After leave to interrogate what he pleased, it was, if we wanted any money for the pursuance of our journey, and pulled out two pistoles, which he offered either to give or lend us.

I mention this exceeding courtesy of the curate, because, though civility is very much in force in *France*, and especially to strangers, yet it is a very unusual thing to have them part with their money.—We let the priest know, first, that we did not want money, and next that we were very sensible of the obligation he offered us ; and I told him in particular, if I lived to see him again, I would acknowledge it.

This accident of our horse, was, as we afterwards found, of some use to us. We had left our two servants behind at *Calais* to bring our baggage after us, by reason of some dispute between the captain of the packet and the custom-house officer, which could not be adjusted, and we were willing to be at *Paris* : the fellows followed as fast as they could, and let us to know,

know, in the time we lost our way, they were robbed and our portmanteaus opened. The villains took what they pleased; but as there was no money, only linen and necessaries, the loss was not great.

Our guide conveyed us to *Amiens*, where we found the express and our two servants, whom the express met on the road, and having a spare horse, had brought back with him thither. We took this for a good omen of our successful journey, having escaped a danger which might have been greater to us than it was to our servants; for the highwaymen in *France* do not always give a traveller the civility of bidding him stand and deliver his money, but frequently fire upon him first, and then take his money.

We staid one day at *Amiens*, to adjust this little disorder, and walked about the town, and into the great church, but saw nothing very remarkable there; but going cross a broad street near the church, we saw a crowd of people gazing at a mountebank doctor, who made a long harangue to them with a thousand antic postures, and gave out bills this way, and boxes of physic that way, and had a great trade, when on a sudden the people raised a cry of *Larron! Larron!** on the other side the street, and all the auditors ran away from the doctor to see what the matter was. Among the rest we went to see, and the case was short and plain enough. Two *English* gentlemen and a *Scotchman*, travellers

B.

* In *English*, Thief! Thief!

vellers as we were, were stood looking at this prating emperic, and one of them caught a fellow picking his pocket: he had got some of the gentleman's money, for he dropt two or three pieces just by him, and had got hold of his watch, but being surpris'd let it slip again: my reason for telling this story is, for the agility of its management. This thief had his seconds so ready, that as soon as the *Englishman* had seized him, they fell in, pretended to be mighty zealous for the stranger, takes the fellow by the throat and makes a great bustle; the gentleman not doubting but the man was secured, let go his hold of him and left him to them: the hubbub was great, and it was these men that cried *Larron! Larron!* but with a dexterity peculiar to themselves, had let the right person go, and pretended to be all upon one of their own gang. At last they brought the fellow to the gentleman to ask what he had done? who, when he saw the person they had seized, presently told them that was not the man. They then seemed to be in more consternation than before, and spread themselves all over the street, crying *Larron! Larron!* pretending to search for the thief; and so one one way, and one another, they were all gone, the noise went over, the gentlemen stood looking one at another, and the bawling doctor began to have the crowd about him again. This was the first *French* trick I had the opportunity of seeing; but I was told they have a great many more as dexterous as this.

We soon got acquainted with these gentlemen,

men, who were going to *Paris* as well as us; so the next day we made up our company with them, and were a pretty troop of five gentlemen and four servants.

As we had no design to stay long at *Paris*; indeed, excepting the city itself, there was not much to be seen. Cardinal *Richlieu*, who was not only a supreme minister of the church, but prime minister of the state, was now made also general of the King's forces, with a title never known in *France* before nor since, viz. *Lieutenant-General au Place du Roy*, in the King's stead, or as some have since translated it, representing the person of the King.

Under this character he pretended to execute the royal powers in the army without appeal to the King, or without waiting for orders: and having parted from *Paris* the winter before, had now actually begun the war against the Duke of *Savoy*; in the process of which, he restored the Duke of *Mantua*, and having taken *Pignerol* from the Duke, put it into such a state of defence, as he could never force it out of his hands. The Cardinal reduced the Duke rather by good conduct and management than by force, to make peace without it; and by annexing it to the crown of *France*, has ever since been a thorn in his foot, and has always made the peace of *Savoy* lame and precarious: *France* has since made *Pignerol* one of the strongest fortresses in the world.

As the Cardinal, with all the military part of the court, was in the field, and the King, to be near

near him, was gone with the Queen and all the court, just before I reached *Paris*, to reside at *Lyons*. All these considered, there was nothing to do at *Paris*. The court looked like a citizen's house when the family were gone into the country : and I thought the whole city looked very melancholy, compared to all the fine things I had heard of it.

The Queen's mother and her party were chagrined at the Cardinal, who, though he owed his grandeur to her immediate favour, was now grown too great any longer to be at the command of her majesty, or indeed in her interest; and therefore, the Queen was dissatisfied, and her party looked very much down.

The protestants were every where disconsolate for the losses they had received at *Rochel*, *Nismes* and *Montpelier*, had reduced them to an absolute dependance on the King's will, without possible hopes of ever recovering themselves, or being so much as in a condition to take arms for their religion ; and therefore, the wisest of them plainly foresaw their own entire reduction, as it since came to pass : and I remember very well, that a protestant gentleman told me once, as we were passing from *Orleans* to *Lyons*, that the *English* had ruined them ; and therefore, says he, I think the next occasion the King takes to use us ill, as I know it will not be long before he does, we must all fly over to *England*, where you are bound to maintain us for having helped to turn us out of our own country. I asked him what he meant by saying the *English* had done it ?

it? He returned short upon me, I do not mean, says he, by not relieving *Rochel*, but by helping to ruin *Rochel*, when you and the *Dutch* lent ships to beat our fleet, which all the ships in *France* could not have done without you.

I was too young in the world to be very sensible of this before, and therefore was something startled at the charge; but when I came to discourse with this gentleman, I soon saw the truth of what he said was undeniable, and have since reflected on it with regret, that the naval power of the protestants, which was then superior to the royal, would certainly have been the recovery of all their fortunes, had it not been unhappily broke by their brethren of *England* and *Holland*; the former lending seven men of war, and the latter twenty, for the destruction of the *Rocheller's* fleet; and by those very ships the fleet were actually beat and destroyed, as they never afterward recovered their force at sea, and in consequence sunk under the siege, which in vain the *English* afterward attempted to prevent. — These things made the protestants look very dull, and expected the ruin of all their party; which had certainly happened had the Cardinal lived a few years longer.

We staid at *Paris* about three weeks, as well to see the court, and what rarities the place afforded; in which time, an incident happened which had like to have put a short period to our ramble. — Walking one morning before the gate of the *Louvre*, with a design to see the *Swiss* drawn up, which they always did, and exercised

cised just before they relieved the guards : a page came up to me, and speaking *English*, Sir, says he, the captain must needs have your immediate assistance. I that had not the knowledge of any person in *Paris* but my own companion, whom I called captain, had no room to question but it was he that sent for me ; and crying out hastily to him, where, followed the fellow as fast as possible : he led me through several passages which I knew not, and at last through a tennis-court, and into a large room where three men, like gentlemen, were engaged very briskly, two against one : the room was very dark, so that I could not easily know them asunder ; but being full possessed with an opinion before of my captain's danger, I ran into the room with my sword in my hand : I had not particularly engaged any of them, nor so much as made a pass at any, when I received a very dangerous thrust in my thigh, rather occasioned by my hasty running in, than a real design of the person ; but enraged at the hurt, without examining who it was hurt me, I threw myself upon him, and run my sword quite through his body.

The novelty of the adventure, and the unexpected fall of the man by a stranger come in, nobody knew how, had becalmed the other two, that they really stood gazing at me. By this time I had discovered my captain was not there, and that it was some strange accident brought me thither. I could speak but little *French*, and supposed they could speak no *English* ; so I stepped to the door to see for the page that brought

brought me thither; but seeing nobody there, and the passage clear, I made off as fast as I could, without speaking a word; nor did the other two gentlemen offer to stop me.

But I was in a strange confusion when coming into those entries and passages which the page led me through, I could by no means find my way out; at last seeing a door open that looked through a house into the street, I went in and out of the other door; but then I was at as great a loss to know where I was, and which was the way to my lodging. The wound in my thigh bled apace, and I could feel the blood in my breeches. In this interval came by a chair, I called, and went into it, and bid them, as well as I could go to the *Louvre*; for though I knew not the name of the street where I lodged, I knew I could find the way to it when at the *Bastile*. The chairmen went on their own way, and being stopped by a company of the guards as they went, set me down till the soldiers were marched by; when looking out I found I was just at my own lodging, and the captain standing at the door looking for me; I beckoned him to me, and whispering told him I was very much hurt, bid him pay the chairman, and ask no questions but come to me.

I made the best of my way up stairs, but had lost so much blood that I had scarcely spirits enough to keep me from swooning till he came in. He was equally concerned with me to see me in such a bloody condition, and presently called

called up our landlord, and he as quickly called in his neighbours, that I had a room full of people about me in a quarter of an hour. But this had like to have been of worse consequence to me than the other; for by this time there were great enquiries after the person who killed a man at the tennis-court. My landlord was then sensible of his mistake, and came to me, and told me the danger I was in, and very honestly offered to convey me to a friend's of his, where I should be very secure; I thanked him, and suffered myself to be carried at midnight whither he pleased; he visited me very often till I was well enough to walk about, which was not in less than ten days, when we thought it best to be missing, so took post for *Orleans*; but when I came upon the road I found myself in another error, for my wound opened again with riding, and I was in a worse condition than before, being forced to take up at a little village on the road, a few miles from *Orleans*, where there was no surgeon to be had, but a sorry country barber, who nevertheless dressed me as well as he could, and in about a week more I was able to walk to *Orleans* at three times. Here I staid till I was quite well, and then took coach for *Lyons*, and through *Savoy* into *Italy*.—I spent near two years after this bad beginning, in travelling through *Italy*, and to the several courts of *Rome*, *Naples*, *Venice* and *Vienna*.

When I came to *Lyons*, the King was gone from thence to *Grenoble* to meet the Cardinal, but the Queens were both at *Lyons*.—The
French

French affairs seemed just at this time to have but an indifferent aspect ; there was no life in any thing but where the Cardinal was, and he pushed on every thing with extraordinary conduct, and generally with success ; he had taken *Susa* and *Pignerol* from the Duke of *Savoy*, and was preparing to push the Duke even out of all his dominions.

But at the same time, every where else looked ill ; the troops were ill paid, the magazines empty, the people mutinous, and a general disorder seized the minds of the court ; and the Cardinal, who was the soul of every thing, desired an interview at *Grenoble*, in order to put things into some better method.

This politic minister always ordered matters so, that if there was success in any thing the glory was his ; but if things miscarried it was all laid upon the King. This conduct was so much the more nice, as it is the direct contrary to custom in like cases, where Kings assume the glory of all the success in an action ; and when it miscarries make themselves easy by sacrificing their ministers and favourites to the complaints and resentments of the people ; but this accurate refined statesman got over this point.

While we were at *Lyons*, and as I remember, the third day after our coming thither, we had like to have been involved in a state broil, without knowing where we were ; it was on a *Sunday* evening, the people of *Lyons*, who had been sorely oppressed with taxes, and the war in *Italy* pinching their trade, began to be very tumultuous ;

tuous ; we found the day before the mob got together in great crouds and talked oddly ; the King was every where reviled and spoken disrespectfully of, and the magistrates of the city either winked at, or durst not attempt to meddle, lest they should provoke the people.

But on *Sunday*, about midnight, we was waked by a prodigious noise in the street ; I jump't out of my bed, and running to the window, I saw the street as full of mob as it could hold, some armed with muskets and halbards, marching in good order ; others in disorderly crowds, all shouting and crying out *du Paix le Roy*, and the like : one that led a great party of this rabble carried a loaf of bread on the top of a pike, and other lesser loaves, signifying the smallness of their bread, occasioned by the very high price of corn.

In the morning this croud were gathered to a great height, they ran over the whole city, shut up all the shops, and forced all the people to join with them ; from thence they went up to the castle, and renewing the clamour, a strange consternation seized all the princes. They broke open the doors of the officers, collectors of the new taxes and plundered their houses, and had not the persons themselves fled in time, they would have been very ill treated.

The Queen's mother, as she was very much displeased to see such consequences of the government, in whose management she had no share, so I suppose she had the less concern upon her. However, she came into the court of the
castle

castle and shewed herself to the people, gave money amongst them, and spoke in a courtly manner; and by her endearing behaviour, pacified the mob gradually, sent them home with promises of redress and the like; and so appeased this great tumult in two days, by her prudence, which the guards in the castle had no mind to meddle with, and if they had, would, in all probability, have made the better side the worse. — There had been several seditions of the like nature in sundry other parts of *France*, and the very army began to murmur, though not to be mutinous, for want of provisions.

This sedition at *Lyons* was not quite over when we left the place, for, finding the city all in uproar, we thought we had no business there, and what the consequence of a popular tumult might be, we did not see, so we prepared to be gone. We had not rode above three miles out of the city, before we were taken and brought as prisoners of war, by a party of mutineers, who had been about upon the scout, and were charged with being messengers sent to the Cardinal for forces to reduce the citizens: with these pretences they brought us back in triumph, and the Queen's mother being by this time grown something familiar to them, they carried us before her.

When they enquired of us who we were, we called ourselves *Scots*; for as the *English* were very much out of favour in *France* at this time, the peace not having been made many months, and not supposed to be very durable, because
 particularly

particularly displeasing to the people of *England*; so the *Scots* were on the other extreme with the *French*. Nothing was so much caressed as they, and a man had no more to do in *France*, if he would be well received there, than to say he is a *Scotchman*.

When we came before the Queen's mother, she seemed to receive us with some stiffness at first, and caused her guards to take us into custody; but as she was a lady of most exquisite politics, she did this to amuse the mob, and we were immediately after dismissed; and the Queen herself made a handsome excuse to us for the rudeness we had suffered, alledging the troubles of the times; and the next morning we had three dragoons of the guards to convoy us out of the jurisdiction of *Lyons*.

I confess this little adventure gave me an aversion to popular tumults all my life after, and if nothing else had been in the cause, would have byassed me to espouse the King's party in *England*, when our popular heats carried all before them at home.—But I must say, when I called to mind since the address, the management, the compliance in shew, and in general the whole conduct of the Queen's mother, with the mutinous people of *Lyons*, and compared it with the conduct of my unhappy master the King of *England*, I could not but think that the Queen understood much better than King *Charles*, the management of politics and the clamours of the people.

Had this princess been at the helm in *England*,

land, she would have prevented all the calamities of the civil war here, and yet not have parted with what that good prince yielded in order to peace neither; she would have yielded gradually, and then gained upon them in the same manner; she would have managed them to the point she had designed them, as she did all parties in *France*, neither could any effectually subject her, but the very man she had raised to be her principal support; I mean the Cardinal.

We went from hence to *Grenoble*, and arrived there the same day that the King and the Cardinal, with the whole court, went out to view a body of 6000 *Swiss* foot, which the Cardinal had wheedled the cantons to grant to the King, to help to ruin their neighbour the Duke of *Savoy*.

The troops were exceeding fine, well accoutred, brave, clean-limbed stout fellows indeed. Here I saw the Cardinal; he had an air of church gravity in his habit, but all the vigour of a general, and the sprightliness in his face of a vast genius; he affected a little stiffness in his behaviour, but managed all his affairs with such clearness, such steadiness, and such application, that it was no wonder he had such success in every undertaking.

Here I saw the King, whose figure was mean, his countenance hollow, and always seemed dejected, and every way discovered that weakness in his countenance that appeared in his actions.—If he was ever sprightly and vigorous it was when the Cardinal was with him; for he depended

pended so much on every thing he did, that he was in the utmost dilemma when absent, being always timorous, jealous and irresolute.

After the review the Cardinal was absent for some days, having been to wait on the Queen's mother at *Lyons*, where, as it was discoursed, they were at least seemingly reconciled.—I observed while the Cardinal was gone there was no court, the King was seldom to be seen, very small attendance given, and no bustle at the castle; but as soon as the Cardinal returned, the great councils were assembled, the coaches of the ambassadors went every day to the castle, and a face of business appeared upon the whole court.

Here the measures of the Duke of *Savoy's* ruin were concerted, and in order to it the King and the Cardinal put themselves at the head of the army, with which they immediately reduced all *Savoy*, took *Chamberry* and the whole duchy, except *Montmelian*.

The army that did this were not above 22000 men, including the *Swiss*, and but indifferent troops neither, especially the *French* foot, who compared to the infantry I have since seen in the *German* and *Swedish* armies, were not fit to be called soldiers. On the other hand, considering the *Savoyards* and *Italian* troops, they were good; but the Cardinal's conduct made amends for all these deficiencies.

From hence I went to *Pignerol*, which was then little more than a single fortification on the hill near a town called *St. Brides*; but the situation of that was very strong: I mention this because

because of the prodigious works since added to it, by which it has obtained the name of the right hand of *France*; they had begun a new line below the hill, and some works were marked out on the side of the town next the fort; but the Cardinal afterward drew the plan of the works with his own hand, by which it was made one of the strongest fortresses in *Europe*.

While I was at *Pignerol*, the governor of *Milan*, for the *Spaniards*, came with an army and sat down before *Casal*. The grand quarrel for which the war in this part of *Italy* were begun, was this. The *Spaniards* and *Germans* claimed the duchy of *Mantua*; the Duke of *Nevers*, a *Frenchman*, had not only a title to it, but had got possession, but being ill supported by the *French*, was beat out by the *Imperialists*; and after a long siege the *Germans* took *Mantua* itself, and drove the poor Duke quite out of the country.

The taking of *Mantua* elevated the spirits of the Duke of *Savoy*, and the *Germans* and *Spaniards* being now at more leisure, had a complete army came to his assistance, and formed the siege of *Montferrat*. For as the *Spaniards* pushed the Duke of *Mantua*, so the *French*, by way of diversion lay hard upon the Duke of *Savoy*; they had seized *Montferrat*, and held it for the Duke of *Mantua*, and had a strong *French* garrison under *Thairas*, a brave and experienced commander; and thus affairs stood when we came into the *French* army.

I had no business there as a soldier, but having passed as a *Scotch* gentleman with the mob at *Lyons*, and after with her majesty the Queen's mother, when we obtained the guard of her dragoons; we had also her majesty's pass, with which we came and went where we pleased; and the Cardinal, who was then not on very good terms with the Queen, but willing to keep smooth water there, when two or three times our passes came to be examined, shewed a more than ordinary respect to us on that very account, our passes being from the Queen.

Casal being besieged, as I have observed, began to be in danger, for the Cardinal, who it was thought had formed a design to ruin *Savoy*, was more intent upon that than upon the succour of the Duke of *Mantua*; but necessity calling upon him to relieve so great a captain as *Tboiras*, and not to let such a place as *Casal* fall into the hands of the enemy, the King, or rather Cardinal, ordered the Duke of *Momorency* and the Marechal *D'Effiat*, with 10000 foot and 2000 horse, to march and join the Marechals *De La Force* and *Schomberg*, who lay already with an army on the frontiers of *Genoa*, but too weak to attempt the raising the siege of *Casal*.

As all men thought there would be a battle between the *French* and the *Spaniards*, I could not prevail with myself to lose the opportunity, and therefore, by the help of the passes above mentioned, I came to the *French* army under the Duke of *Momorency*; we marched through the enemy's country with great boldness and no small

small hazard, for the Duke of *Savoy* appeared frequently with great bodies of horse on the rear of the army, and frequently skirmished with our troops, in one of which I had the folly, I can call it no better, for I had no business there, to go out and see the sport, as the *French* gentlemen called it; I was but a raw soldier, but did not like the sport at all, for this party was surrounded by the Duke of *Savoy*, and almost all killed, for they neither asked nor gave quarter, I ran away very fairly one of the first, and my companion with me, and by the swiftness of our horses got out of the fray, and not being much known in the army, we came into the camp an hour or two after, as if we had only been riding about for the air.—This little rout made the general very cautious, for the *Savoyards* were stronger in horse by 3 or 4000, and the army always marched in a body, and kept their parties in or very near hand.

I escaped another rub in this *French* army about five days after, which had like to have made me pay dear for my curiosity.—The Duke de *Momorency* and the *Mareschal Schomberg* joined their army about four or five days after, and immediately, according to the Cardinal's instructions, put themselves on the march for the relief of *Casal*.—The army had marched over a great plain, with some marshy grounds on the right, and the *Po* on the left, and as the country was so well discovered, it was thought impossible any mischief should happen, the generals observed less caution. At the end of this

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plain

plain was a long wood, and a lane or narrow defile through the middle of it.

Through this pass the army were to march, and the van began to file through it about four o'clock; in three hours all the army were got through, or into the pass, and the artillery had just entered; when the Duke of *Savoy*, with 4000 horse and 1500 dragoons, with every horseman a footman behind him; whether he had swam the *Po*, or passed it above at a bridge, and made a long march after, was not examined, but he came boldly up the plain and charged our rear with a great deal of fury. Our artillery were in the lane, and as it was impossible to turn them about and make way for the army, the rear were obliged to support themselves and maintain the fight for above an hour and an half.

In this time we lost abundance of men, and had it not been for two accidents, all that line would certainly have been cut off; one was, that the wood was so near, those regiments which were disordered presently sheltered themselves therein; and the other was, that by this time the *Mareschal Schomberg*, with the horse of the van, began to get back through the lane, and to make good the ground from whence the other had been beat, till at last by this means it came to almost a pitched battle.—There were two regiments of *French* dragoons who did excellent service in this action, and maintained their ground till they were nearly all killed.

Had the Duke of *Savoy* contented himself with the defeat of five regiments on the right,
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which he quite broke and drove into the wood, and with the slaughter and havock which he had made among the rest, he would have come off with honour, and might have called it a victory; but endeavouring to break the whole party, and carry off some cannon, the obstinate resistance of these few dragoons lost him his advantages, and held him in play till so many fresh troops got through the pass again and made us too strong for him; and had not night parted them he had been entirely defeated.—At last finding our troops increase and spread themselves on his flank, he retired and gave over, we had no great mind to pursue him, though some horse were ordered to follow a little way.

The Duke lost above a thousand men, and we almost twice as many, and but for those dragoons, should have lost the whole rear guard and half our cannon. I was in a very sorry case in this action too, being with the rear in the regiment of horse of *Perigoort*, with a captain of which regiment I had contracted some acquaintance; I would have rode off at first, as the captain desired me, but there was no doing it, for the cannon was in the lane, and the horse and dragoons of the van eagerly pressing back through it, must have run me down or carried me with them: the wood was a good shelter for saving one's life, but was so thick there was no passing it on horseback.

Our regiment was one of the first that was broke, and being all in confusion, with the Duke of *Savoy's* men at our heels, away we ran
into

into the wood; never was there so much disorder among a parcel of runaways, as the wood was so exceeding bushy and thick at the bottom there was no entering it, and a volley of small shot from a regiment of *Savoy's* dragoons poured in upon us at our breaking into the wood made terrible work among our horses.— For my part I was got into the wood, but was forced to quit my horse, and by that means, with a great deal of difficulty, got a little farther in, where there was a little open place, and being quite spent with labouring among the bushes, I sat down resolving to take my fate there, let it be what it would, for I was not able to go any farther; I had twenty or thirty more in the same condition came to me in less than half an hour, and here we waited very securely the success of the battle, which was as before.

It was no small relief to those with me to hear the *Savoyards* were beat, for otherwise they had all been lost; as for myself, I confess, I was glad as it was, because of the danger, but otherwise I cared not much which had the better, for I designed no service among them. One kindness it did me, I began to consider what I had to do there, and as I could give but a very slender account what it was I run all these risks for, I resolved they should fight it out themselves, for I would come among them no more.

The captain with whom, as I noted above, I had contracted some acquaintance in this regiment, was killed in the action, and the *French* had really a great blow here, though they took care

care to conceal it all they could ; and I cannot, without smiling, read some of the histories of this action, which they are not ashamed to call a victory.

We marched on to *Saluces*, and the next day the Duke of *Savoy* pretended himself in batallia on the other side of a small river, giving us a fair challenge to pass and engage him : we always said in our camp that the orders were to fight the Duke of *Savoy* wherever we met him ; but though he braved us in our view, we did not care to engage him, but we brought *Saluces* to surrender upon articles, which the Duke could not relieve without attacking our camp, and that he did not care to do.

The next morning we had news of the surrender of *Mantua* to the *Imperial* army ; we heard of it first from the Duke of *Savoy's* cannon, which he fired by way of rejoicing, and which seemed to make him amends for the loss of *Saluces*.—As this was a mortification to the *French*, it quite damped the success of the campaign ; for the Duke de *Momorency* imagining that the *Imperial* general would send immediate assistance to the Marquis *Spinola*, who besieged *Casal*, they called frequent councils of war what course to take, and at last resolved to halt in *Piedmont*.

A few days after their resolutions were changed again, by the news of the death of the Duke of *Savoy*, *Charles Emanuel*, who died, as some say, agitated with the extremes of joy and grief.—This put our generals upon considering again, whether

whether they should march to the relief of *Casals*, but the chimera of the *Germans* put them by, and so they took up quarters in *Piedmont*; several small pieces were taken from the Duke of *Savoy*, taking advantage of the consternation the Duke's subjects were in on the death of their Prince, and spread themselves from the sea side to the banks of the *Po*.

But here an enemy did that for them which the *Savoyers* could not, for the plague got into their quarters and destroyed abundance of people, both of the army and of the country.

I thought then it was time for me to be gone, for I had no manner of courage for that attack; and I think verily I was more afraid of being taken sick in a strange country, than ever I was of being killed in battle. Upon this resolution I procured a pass to go for *Genoa*, and accordingly began my journey, but was arrested at *Villa Franca* by a slow lingering fever, which held me about five days, and then turned to a burning malignancy, and at last to the plague. My friend, the captain, never left me night or day; and though for four days more I knew nobody, nor was capable of so much as thinking for myself, yet it pleased God that the distemper gathered in my neck, swelled and broke; during the swelling I was raging mad with the violence of pain, which being so near my head, swelled that also in proportion, that my eyes were swelled up, and for twenty-four hours my tongue and mouth; then, as my servant told me, all the physicians gave me over, as past all remedy,

remedy, but by the providence of God, the swelling broke.—The prodigious collection of matter which this swelling discharged, gave me immediate relief, and I became sensible in less than an hour's time; and in two hours, or thereabouts, fell into a little slumber which recovered my spirits, and sensibly revived me. Here I lay by till the middle of *September*, my captain fell sick after me, but recovered quickly; his man had the plague also, and died in two days; my man held it out well.

At this time we heard of a truce concluded between all parties, and being unwilling to winter at *Villa Franca*, I got passes, and though we were both but weak began to travel in litters for *Milan*.—And here I experienced the truth of an old *English* Proverb, “that standers-by see more than the gamesters.”—The *French*, *Savoyards* and *Spaniards* made this peace or truce all for separate and several grounds, and every one were mistaken.

The *French* yielded to it because they had given over the relief of *Casal*, and were very much afraid it would fall into the hands of the Marquis *Spinola*. The *Savoyards* yielded to it because they were afraid the *French* would winter in *Piedmont*; the *Spaniards* yielded to it because the Duke being dead, and the Count de *Colalto*, the *Imperial* general, giving no assistance, and his army weakened by sickness and the fatigues of the siege, he foresaw he should never take the town, and wanted but to come off with honour.

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The *French* were mistaken, because really *Spinola* was so weak, that had they marched on into *Montferrat*, the *Spaniards* must have raised the siege; the Duke of *Savoy* was mistaken, because the plague had so weakened the *French* that they dare not have staid to winter in *Piedmont*; and *Spinola* was mistaken, for though he was very slow, if he had staid before the town one fortnight longer, *Thoiras* the governor must have surrendered, being brought to the last extremity.—Of all these mistakes the *French* had the advantage, for *Casal* was relieved, the army had time to be recruited, and the *French* had the best of it by an early campaign.

I past through *Montferrat* in my way to *Milan* just as the truce was declared, and saw the miserable remains of the *Spanish* army, who by sickness, fatigue, hard duty, the sallies of the garrison, and such like consequences, were reduced to less than 2000 men, and among them above 1000 lay wounded and sick in the camp.

Here were several regiments which I saw drawn out to their arms that could not muster up above 70 or 80 men, officers and all, and those half starved with hunger, almost naked, and in a lamentable condition. From thence I went into the town, and there things were still in a worse condition, the houses beat down, the walls and works ruined, the garrison, by continual duty, reduced from 4500 men to less than 800, without cloaths, money or provisions. The brave governor weak with continual fatigue, and the whole face of things in a miserable case. The

The *French* generals had just sent them thirty thousand crowns for present supply, which heartened them a little, but had not the truce been made as it was, they must have surrendered upon what terms the *Spaniards* had pleased to make.—Never were two armies in such fear of one another with so little cause; the *Spaniards* afraid of the *French* whom the plague had devoured, and the *French* afraid of the *Spaniards* whom the siege had almost ruined.

The grief of this mistake, together with the sense of his master, the *Spaniards*, leaving him without supplies to compleat the siege of *Casal*, so affected the Marquis *Spinola* that he died for grief, and in him fell the last of that rare breed of *Low Country* soldiers, who gave the world so great and just a character of the *Spanish* infantry as the best soldiers of the world; a character which we see now so very much degenerated that they hardly deserve the name of soldiers.

I remained at *Milan* the rest of the winter, for the recovery of my health, and also for supplies from *England*.—Here it was I first heard the name of *Gustavus Adolphus*, the King of *Sweden*, who now began his war with the Emperor; and while the King of *France* was at *Lyons*, the league with *Sweden* was made, in which the *French* contributed 1200000 crowns in money, and 600000 *per annum*, to the attempt of *Gustavus Adolphus*. About this time he landed in *Pomerania*, took the towns of *Stetin* and *Stralsund*, and from thence proceeded in that prodigious manner, of which I shall have

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occasion to be very particular in the prosecution of this Work.

I had indeed no intention of seeing that King, or his armies, having been so roughly handled already, that I had given over all thoughts of appearing among the fighting people, and resolved in the spring to pursue my journey to *Venice*, and so for the rest of *Italy*.—Yet, I cannot deny, that as every gazette gave us some accounts of the conquests and victories of this glorious prince, it pre-possessed me with secret wishes of seeing him; but these were so young and unsettled, that I drew no resolutions from them for a long while.

About the middle of *January* I left *Milan* and came to *Genoa*, from thence by sea to *Leghorn*, then to *Naples*, *Rome* and *Venice*, but saw nothing in *Italy* that afforded me any entertainment.—As for their manners, I saw nothing but lewdness, private murders, stabbing men at the corner of a street, or in the dark, hiring bravos, and the like; all the diversions here ended in whoring, gaming and Sodomy, these were to me the modern excellencies of *Italy*; and I had no gust to antiquities.

It was pleasant indeed when I was at *Rome*, to say here stood the Capital, there the Colosses of *Nero*, here the Amphitheatre of *Titus*, there the Aqueduct of ——— here the Forum, there the Catacombs, here the Temple of *Venus*, there of *Jupiter*, here the Pantheon, &c. but as I never designed to write this Book, what was useful I kept in my head; and every thing else I left to others. I

I observed the people were degenerated from the ancient glorious inhabitants, who were generous, brave, and the most valiant of all nations, to a vicious baseness of soul; barbarous, treacherous, jealous and revengeful; lewd and cowardly; intolerably proud and haughty; bigoted to blind, incoherent devotion, and the grossest of idolatry.—Indeed the awkwardness of the people's disposition made the place unpleasant to me; for there is so little to recommend a country when the people disgrace it, that all the beauties of the creation cannot make up the want of those excellencies which agreeable society afford; this made *Italy* a very disagreeable country to me, as the people were the foil to the place, and all manner of hateful vices reigning in their general way of living.

I confess I was not very religious myself, and being come abroad into the world young enough, might easily have been drawn into evils that had recommended themselves with any tolerable agreeableness to nature and common manners; but when wickedness presented itself, full grown in its grossest freedoms and liberties, it quite took away that agreeableness to vice the Devil had furnished me with; and illustrative to this, I cannot but relate a scene which passed only betwixt that infernal Spirit and myself.

At a certain town in *Italy*, which shall be nameless, because I will not celebrate the proficiency of one place more than another, when I believe the whole country equally wicked, I was prevailed upon, rather than tempted, *a la*

Courtesan.

Courtezan.—If I should describe the woman, I must give a very mean character of my own virtue, to say I was allured by any but an extraordinary figure; her face, shape, mien and dress, I may, without vanity, say the finest that ever I saw. When I had admittance into her apartments, the riches and magnificence of them astonished me; the cupboard or cabinet of plate, the jewels, the tapestry, and every thing in proportion, made me question whether I was not in the chamber of some lady of the best quality;—but when after some conversation I found that she was really nothing but a courtezan, in *English*, a common street whore, a punk of the trade, I was amazed, and my inclination to her person began to cool; her conversation exceeded, if possible, the best of quality, and was, I must own, exceeding agreeable: she sung to her lute, and danced as fine as ever I saw, and thus diverted me two hours before any thing else was discoursed of;—but when the vicious part came upon the stage, I blush to relate the confusion I was in, and when she made a certain motion, by which I understood she might be made use of, either as a Lady, or as—I was quite thunder-struck, all the vicious parts of my thoughts vanished, the place filled me with horror, and I was all over disorder and distraction.

I began, however, to recollect where I was, and that in this country these were people not to be affronted; she easily perceived the disorder I was in, and turned it off with admirable dexterity, began to talk again *a la Gallant*, received me

me as a visitant, offered me sweetmeats and some wine.

Here I was in more confusion than before, for I concluded she would neither offer me to eat or drink now without poison, and I was very shy of tasting her treat, but she scattered this fear immediately, by readily, and of her own accord, not only tasting but eating freely of every thing she gave me; whether she perceived my wariness, or the reason of it, I know not, I could not help banishing my suspicion, the obliging carriage and strange charm of her conversation had so much power of me, that I both ate and drank with her at all hazards.

When I offered to go, and at parting presented her five pistoles, I could not prevail with her to take them, when she spoke some *Italian* proverb which I could not readily understand, but by my guess it seemed to imply, that, "she would not take the pay, having not obliged me otherwise." At last I laid the pieces on her toilet, and would not receive them again; upon which she obliged me to pass my word to visit her again, else she would by no means accept my present.

I confess, I had a strong inclination to visit her again, and besides thought myself obliged to it in honour to my parole; but after some strife in my thoughts about it, I resolved to break my word with her, when going at Vespers one evening to see their devotions, I happened to meet this Lady very devoutly going to her prayers.

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At her coming out of the church I spoke to her, she paid me her respects with a *Seignior Inglese*, and some words she said in *Spanish* smiling, which I did not understand; I cannot say here so clearly as I would be glad I might, that I broke my word with her; but if I saw her any more I saw nothing of what gave me so much offence before.

The end of my relating this story is answered in describing the manner of their address, without bringing myself to confession; if I did any thing I have some reason to be ashamed of, it may be a less crime to conceal than expose it.—The particulars related, however, may lead the reader of these sheets to a view of what gave me a particular disgust at this pleasant part of the world, as they pretend to call it, and made me quit the place sooner than travellers use to do that go thither to satisfy their curiosity.

The prodigious stupid bigotry of the people also was irksome to me; I thought there was something in it very sordid, the entire empire the priests have over both the souls and bodies of the people, gave me a specimen of that meanness of spirit which is no where else to be seen but in *Italy*, especially in the city of *Rome*.

At *Venice* I perceived it quite different, the civil authority having a visible superiority over the ecclesiastic; and the church more subject there to the state than in any other part of *Italy*.—For these reasons I took no pleasure in filling my history of *Italy* with remarks of places or things, all the antiquities and valuable remains,

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of the *Roman* nation, are done better than I can pretend to, by people who made it more their business; I went to see and not to write, and little thought then of these Memoirs, as I ill furnished myself to write them.

I left *Italy* in *April*, and taking the tour of *Bavaria*, though very much out of the way, passed through *Munick*, *Passaw*, *Lints*, and at last to *Vienna*,

I came there the 10th of *April*, 1631, intending to have gone from thence down the *Danube* into *Hungary*, and by means of a pass which I had obtained from the *English* ambassador at *Constantinople*, I designed to have seen all those great towns on the *Danube* which were then in the hands of the *Turks*, and which I had read much of in the history of the war between the *Turks* and the *Germans*; but I was diverted from my design by the following occasion.

There had been a long bloody war in the empire of *Germany* for twelve years, between the Emperor, the Duke of *Bavaria*, the King of *Spain*, and the popish Princes and Electors on the one side, and the protestant Princes on the other; and both sides having been exhausted by the war, and even the catholics themselves beginning to dislike the growing power of the house of *Austria*, it was thought all parties were willing to make peace.—Nay, things were brought to that pass, that some of the popish Princes and Electors began to talk of making alliances with the King of *Sweden*.

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Here it is necessary to observe, that the two Dukes of *Mecklenburgh* having been dispossessed of most of their dominions by the tyranny of the Emperor *Ferdinand*, and being in danger of losing the rest, earnestly solicited the King of *Sweden* to come to their assistance; and that Prince, as he was related to the house of *Mecklenburgh*, and especially as he was willing to lay hold of any opportunity to break with the Emperor, against whom he had laid up an implacable prejudice, was very ready and forward to come to their assistance.

The reasons of his quarrel with the Emperor were grounded upon the *Imperialists* concerning themselves in the war of *Poland*, where the Emperor had sent 8000 foot and 2000 horse to join the *Polish* army against the King, and had thereby given some check to his arms in that war.—In pursuance, therefore, of his resolution to quarrel with the Emperor, but more particularly at the instance of the Princes above named, his *Swedish* majesty had landed the year before at *Straelsund* with about 12000 men, and having joined with some forces which he had left in *Polish Prussia*, all which did not make 30000, he began a war with the Emperor, the greatest in event, filled with the most famous battles, sieges and extraordinary actions, including its wonderful success and happy conclusion, of any war ever maintained in the world.

The King of *Sweden* had already taking *Stetin*, *Straelsund*, *Rostock*, *Wismar*, and all the strong places on the *Baltic*, and began to spread himself

himself into *Germany*; he had made a league with the *French*, as I observed in my story of *Saxony*, and had now made a treaty with the Duke of *Brandenburg*, and, in short, began to be terrible to the empire.

In this conjuncture, the Emperor called the general diet of the empire to be held at *Ratisbon*, where, as was pretended, all sides were to treat of peace and to join forces to beat the *Swedes* out of the empire. Here the Emperor, by a most exquisite management, brought the affairs of the diet to a conclusion, exceedingly to his own advantage and to the farther oppression of the protestants; and, in particular, in the war against the King of *Sweden*, which was to be carried on in such manner as the whole burthen and charge would lie on the protestants themselves, and they made the instruments to oppose their best friends. Other matters also ended equally to their disadvantage, as the methods resolved on to recover the church-lands, and to prevent the education of the protestant clergy; and what remained was referred to another general diet to be held at *Frankfort au Main*, in *August*, 1631.

I will not pretend to say the other protestant Princes of *Germany* had never made any overtures to the King of *Sweden*, to come to their assistance, but it is plain they had entered into no league with him; that appears from the difficulties which retarded the fixing the treaties afterward, both with the Dukes of *Brandenburg* and *Saxony* which unhappily occasioned the ruin of *Magdenburgh*.

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But it is plain the *Swedes* were resolved on a war with the Emperor; his *Swedish* Majesty might, and indeed could not but foresee, that if he once shewed himself with a sufficient force on the frontiers of the empire, all the protestant Princes would be obliged, by their interest or by his arms, to fall in with him, and this the consequence made appear to be a just conclusion; for the Electors of *Brandenburg* and *Saxony* were both forced to join with him.

First, They were willing to join with him, at least they could not find in their hearts to join with the Emperor, of whose power they had such just apprehensions; they wished the *Swedes* success, and would have been very glad to have had the work done at another man's charge; but like true *Germans* they were more willing to be saved than to save themselves, and therefore hung back and stood upon terms.

Secondly, They were at last forced to it; the first was forced to join by the King of *Sweden* himself, who being come so far was not to be dallyed with; and had not the Duke of *Brandenburg* complied as he did, he had been ruined by the *Swede*; the *Saxon* was driven into the arms of the *Swede* by force, for Count *Tilly* ravaging his country made him comply with any terms to be saved from destruction.

Thus matters stood at the end of the diet at *Ratisbon*; the King of *Sweden* began to see himself leagued against at the diet both by protestant and papist; and, as I have often heard his Majesty say since, if they did not, he had resolved to

to try to force them off from the Emperor, and to treat them as enemies equally with the rest.

But the protestants convinced him soon after, that though they were tricked into the outward appearance of a league against him at *Ratisbon*, they had no such intentions ; and by their ambassadors let him know, that they only wanted his powerful assistance to defend their councils, when they would soon convince him that they had a due sense of the Emperor's designs, and would do their utmost for their liberty ; and these I take to be the first invitations the King of *Sweden* had to undertake the protestant cause as such, and which entitled him to say he fought for the liberty and religion of the *German* nation.

I have had some particular opportunities to hear these things from the mouths of some of the very Princes themselves, and therefore am the more forward to relate them ; and I place them here, because previous to the part I acted on this bloody scene, it is necessary to let the reader into some part of the story, and to shew him in what manner and on what occasions this terrible war began.

The protestants, alarmed at the usage they had met with at the former diet, had secretly proposed among themselves to form a general union or confederacy, for preventing that ruin which they saw, unless some speedy remedies were applied, would be inevitable. The Elector of *Saxony*, the head of the protestants, a vigorous and politic Prince, was the first that moved
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it; and the Landgrave of *Hesse*, a zealous and gallant Prince, being consulted with, it rested a great while between these two, no method being found practicable to bring it to pass; the Emperor being so powerful in all parts, that they foresaw the petty Princes would not dare to negotiate an affair of such a nature, being surrounded with the *Imperial* forces, who by their two generals, *Wallestein* and *Tilly*, kept them in continual subjection and terror.—This dilemma had like to have stifled the thoughts of the union, as a thing impracticable, when one *Seigenfus*, a *Lutheran* minister, a person of great abilities, and one whom the Elector of *Saxony* made great use of in matters of policy as well as religion, contrived for them this excellent expedient.

I had the honour to be acquainted with this Gentleman while I was at *Leipsick*; it pleased him exceedingly to have been the contriver of so fine a structure as the conclusions of *Leipsick*, and he was glad to be entertained on that subject; I had the relation from his own mouth, when, but very modestly, he told me he thought it was an inspiration darted on a sudden into his mind, when the Duke of *Saxony* calling him into his closet one morning, with a countenance full of his concern, shaking his head and looking earnestly, “What will become of us, Doctor,” said the Duke, “we shall all be undone, at *Frankfort au Main*.” “Why so please your Highness?” says the Doctor, “They will fight the King of *Sweden* with our armies and money,”
says

says the Duke, "and entirely devour us and our friends." "But what is become of our confederacy then," said the Doctor, "which your Highness had so happily framed, and which the Landgrave of *Hesse* was so pleased with?" "Become of it," says the Duke, "its a good thought, but it is impossible to bring it to pass among so many members of the protestant Princes that are to be consulted with, for we neither have time to treat, nor will half of them dare to negotiate the matter; the *Imperialists* being quartered in their very bowels." "But may not some expedient be found out," says the Doctor, "to bring them altogether to treat of it at a general meeting?" "It is well proposed," says the Duke, "but in what town or city shall they assemble where the very deputies shall not be besieged by *Tilly* or *Wallestein* in fourteen days time, and sacrificed to the cruelty and fury of the Emperor *Ferdinand*?" "Will your Highness be the easier in it," replies the Doctor, "if a way be found out to call such an assembly upon other causes, at which the Emperor may have no umbrage, and perhaps give his assent? You know the diet at *Frankfort* is at hand; it is necessary the protestants should have an assembly of their own, to prepare matters for the general diet, and it may be no difficult matter to obtain it." The Duke surprised with joy at the motion, embraced the Doctor with an extraordinary transport, "thou hast done it, Doctor," said he, and immediately caused him to draw a form of a letter to the Emperor, which he did
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with the utmost dexterity of style, representing to his *Imperial* Majesty, that in order to put an end to the troubles of *Germany*, his Majesty would be pleased to permit the protestant Princes of the empire to hold a diet to themselves, to consider of such matters as they were to treat of at the general diet, in order to conform themselves to the will and pleasure of his *Imperial* Majesty, to drive out foreigners, and settle a lasting peace in the empire; he also insinuated something of their resolutions unanimously to give their suffrages in favour of the King of *Hungary* at the election of a King of the *Romans*, a thing which he knew the Emperor had in his thought, and would push with all his might at the diet. This letter was sent, and the bait so neatly concealed, that the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Mentz*, the King of *Hungary*, and several of the popish Princes, not foreseeing that the ruin of them all lay in the bottom of it, foolishly advised the Emperor to consent to it.

In consenting to this the Emperor signed his own destruction, for here began the conjunction of the *German* protestants with the *Swede*, which was the most fatal blow to *Ferdinand*, and never could be recovered.

Accordingly the diet was held at *Leipsick*, 8th *Feb.* 1630, where the protestants agreed on several heads for their mutual defence, which were the grounds of the following war; these were the famous conclusions of *Leipsick*, which so alarmed the Emperor and the whole empire, that to crush it in the beginning, the Emperor commanded

commanded Count *Tilly* and the Duke of *Saxony*, immediately to fall upon the Landgrave of *Hesse*, as the principal heads of the union; but it was too late.

The conclusions were digested into ten heads:

1. That since their sins had brought God's judgments upon the whole protestant church, they should command public prayers to be made to Almighty God for the diverting the calamities that attended them.

2. That a treaty of peace might be set on foot, in order to come to a right understanding with the catholic princes.

3. That a time for such a treaty being obtained, they should appoint an assembly of delegates to meet preparatory to the treaty.

4. That all their complaints should be humbly represented to his *Imperial* Majesty, and the catholic Electors, in order to a peaceable accommodation.

5. That they claim the protection of the Emperor, according to the laws of the empire, and the present Emperor's solemn oath and promise.

6. That they would appoint deputies who should meet at certain times to consult of their common interest, and who should always be empowered to conclude of what should be thought needful for their safety.

7. That they shall raise a competent force to maintain and defend their liberties, rights and religion.

8. That

8. That it is agreeable to the constitution of the empire, concluded in the diet at *Ausberg* to do so.

9. That the arming for their necessary defence shall by no means hinder their obedience to his *Imperial* Majesty, but that they will still continue their loyalty to him.

10. They agree to proportion their forces, which in all amounted to 70000 men.

The Emperor, exceedingly startled at the conclusions, issued out a severe proclamation or ban against them, which imported much the same thing as a declaration of war, and commanded *Tilly* to begin, and immediately to fall on the Duke of *Saxony* with all the fury imaginable, as I have already observed.

Here began the flame to break out; for upon the Emperor's ban, the protestants sent away to the King of *Sweden* for succour.—His Majesty had already conquered *Mecklenburgh*, and part of *Pomerania*, and was advancing with his victorious troops, increased by the addition of some regiments raised in those parts, in order to carry on the war against the Emperor, having designed to follow up the *Oder* into *Silesia*, and so to push the war home to the Emperor's hereditary countries of *Austria* and *Bohemia*, when the first messengers came to him in this case; but this changed his measures, and brought him to the frontiers of *Brandenburgh*, resolved to answer the desire of the protestants: but here the Duke of *Brandenburgh* began to halt, making some difficulties

difficulties and demanding terms, which drove the King to use some extremities with him, and stopt the *Swede*, for awhile, who had otherwise been on the banks of the *Elbe*, as soon as *Tilly* the *Imperial* general had entered *Saxony*, which if they had done, the miserable destruction of *Magdenburgh* had been prevented as I observed before.

The King had been invited into the union, and when he first came back from the banks of the *Oder* he had accepted it, and was preparing to back it with all his power.—The Duke of *Saxony* had already a good army, which he had with infinite diligence recruited and mustered under the cannon of *Leipsick*. The King of *Sweden* having, by his ambassador at *Leipsick*, entered into the union of the protestants, was advancing victoriously to their aid, just as Count *Tilly* had entered the Duke of *Saxony's* dominions. The fame of the *Swedish* conquests, and of the hero commanded them, shook my resolutions of travelling into *Turkey*, being resolved to see the conjunction of the protestant armies, and before the fire was broke out too far, to take the advantage of seeing both sides.

While I remained at *Vienna*, uncertain which way I should proceed, I remember observing they talked of the King of *Sweden* as a Prince of no consideration, one that they might let go on and tire himself in *Mecklenburgh*, and thereabout, till they could find leisure to deal with him, and then he might be crushed as they pleased; but as it is never to despise an enemy, so this was

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not an enemy to be despised, as they afterwards found.

As to the conclusions of *Leipsick*, indeed at first they gave the *Imperial* court some uneasiness, but when they found the *Imperial* armies began to fright the members out of the union, and that the several branches had no considerable forces on foot, it was the general discourse at *Vienna*, that the union at *Leipsick* only gave the Emperor an opportunity to crush absolutely the Dukes of *Saxony*, *Brandenburgh*, and the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and they looked upon it as a thing certain.

I never saw any real concern in their faces at *Vienna*, till news came to court that the King of *Sweden* had entered into the union; but as this made them very uneasy, they began to move the most powerful methods possible to divert this storm; and upon this news, *Tilly* was hastened to fall upon *Saxony* before this union could proceed from a conjunction of forces. This was certainly a good resolution, and no measure could have been more exactly concerted had not the diligence of the *Saxons* prevented it.

The gathering of this storm, which from a cloud began to spread over the empire, and from the little duchy of *Mecklenburgh* began to threaten all *Germany*, absolutely determined me, as I noted before, of travelling; and laying aside the thoughts of *Hungary*, I resolved, if possible, to see the King of *Sweden's* army.

I parted from *Vienna* the middle of *May*, and took post for *Great-Glogau* in *Silesia*, as if I had purposed

purposed to pass into *Poland*, but designing indeed to go down the *Oder* to *Custrin* in the Marquisate of *Brandenburgh*, and so to *Berlin*; but when I came to the frontiers of *Silesia*, though I had passes I could go no farther, the guards on all the frontiers were so strict, I was obliged to come back into *Bohemia*, and went to *Prague*.

From hence I found I could easily pass thro' the *Imperial* provinces to the *Lower Saxony*, and accordingly took passes for *Hamburgh*, designing however to use them no farther than I found occasion.—By virtue of these passes I got into the *Imperial* army, under Count *Tilly*, then at the siege of *Magdenburgh*, the 2d of *May*.

I confess I did not foresee the fate of this city, neither I believe did Count *Tilly* himself think of glutting his fury with so entire a desolation, much less did the people expect it. I did believe they must capitulate, and I perceived by discourse in the army, that *Tilly* would give them but very indifferent conditions; but it fell out otherwise. The treaty of surrender was as it were begun, nay some say concluded, when some of the out-guards of the *Imperialists* finding the citizens had abandoned the guards of the works, and looked to themselves with less diligence than usual, they broke in, carried an half-moon sword in hand, with little resistance; and though it was a surprise on both sides, the citizens neither fearing, nor the army expecting the occasion; the garrison, with as much resolution as could be expected under such a fright, flew to the walls, twice beat the *Imperialists*

perialists off, but fresh men coming up, and the administrator of *Magdenburgh* himself being wounded and taken, the enemy broke in, took the city by storm, and entered with such terrible fury, that without respect to age or condition, they put all the garrison and inhabitants, man, woman and child, to the sword, plundered the city, and when they had done set it on fire.

This calamity sure was the most dreadful fight that ever I saw ; the rage of the *Imperial* soldiers was quite intolerable and not to be expressed ; out of 25000, some said 30000 people, there was not a soul to be seen alive, till the flames drove those that were hid in vaults and secret places to seek death in the streets, rather than perish in the fire : of these miserable creatures some were killed too by the furious soldiers, but at last they saved the lives of such as came out of their cellars and holes, and so about 2000 poor desperate creatures were left : the exact number of those that perished in this city could never be known, because those the soldiers had first butchered, the flames consumed.

I was on the other side the *Elbe* when this dreadful piece of butchery was done ; the city of *Magdenburgh* had a sconce or fort over against it, called the toll-house, which joined to the city by a very fine bridge of boats.—This was taken by the *Imperialists* a few days before, and having a mind to see it, and rather because from thence I could have a very good view of the city, I was gone over *Tilly's* bridge of boats to view this fort ; about ten o'clock in the morning I perceived

perceived they were storming by the firing, and immediately all ran to the works, I little thought of the taking the city, but imagined it might be some outwork attacked, for we all expected the city would surrender that day or next, and they might have capitulated upon very good terms.

Being upon the works of the fort, on a sudden I heard a cry in the city that cannot be imagined, and it is not possible to express the manner of it, but I could see the women and children running about the streets in a most lamentable condition.

The city wall did not run along the side of the river with so great a height, but we could plainly see the market-place and several streets which run down to the river : in about an hour's time after this first cry, all was confusion ; there was little shooting, the execution was all cutting of throats and mere house-murthers ; the resolute garrison, with the brave Baron *Falconberg* fought it out to the last, and were cut in pieces, and by this time the *Imperial* soldiers having broke open the gates and entered on all sides, the slaughter was very dreadful ; we could see the poor people in crowds driven down the streets, flying from the fury of the soldiers who followed butchering them as fast as they could, and refused mercy to any body ; till driving them to the river's edge, the desperate wretches threw themselves into the river, where thousands perished, especially women and children ; several men that could swim got over to our side, where

where the soldiers not heated with fight, gave them quarter, and took them up, and I cannot but do this justice to the *German* officers in the fort, they had five small flat boats, and they gave leave to the soldiers to go off in them, and get what booty they could, but charged them not to kill any body, but take them all prisoners.

Their humanity was not ill rewarded, for the soldiers wisely avoiding those places where their fellows were employed in butchering the miserable people, rowed to other places, where crowds of people stood crying out for help; and expecting to be every minute either drowned or murdered; of these at sundry times they fetched over near 600, but took care to take in none but such as offered them good pay.—Never was money or jewels of greater service than now, for they that had any thing of that sort to offer were soonest helped.

There was a burgher of the town, who seeing a boat coming near him, but out of his call, by the help of a speaking trumpet, told the soldiers he would give them 20000 dollars to fetch him off; they rowed close to the shore, and took him with his wife and six children into the boat, but such throngs of people got about it they had like to have sunk her, so that the soldiers were fain to drive a great many out again by main force, and while they were doing this, some of the enemies coming down the street desperately drove them all into the water.—The boat however brought the burgher and his wife and children safe, and though they had
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not all that wealth about them, yet in jewels and money he gave them so much as made all the fellows very rich.—I cannot pretend to describe the cruelty of this day, the town by five in the afternoon was all in flames, the wealth consumed was inestimable, and a loss to the very conqueror. I think there was little or nothing left but the great church, and about 100 houses.

This was a sad welcome into the army for me, and gave me a horror and aversion to the Emperor's people, as well as to his cause. I quitted the camp the third day after this execution, while the fire was hardly out in the city; and from thence getting safe conduct to pass into the *Palatinate*, I turned out of the road at a small village on the *Elbe*, called *Emerfield*, but can give but small account of the town, having a boor for our guide, whom we could hardly understand. I arrived at *Leipsick* on the 17th of *May*.

We found the Elector intense upon strengthening of his army, put the people, in the greatest terror imaginable, every day expecting *Tilly* with the *German* army, who by his cruelty at *Magdenburgh* was become so dreadful to the protestants, that they expected no mercy wherever he came.

The Emperor's power was made so formidable to all the protestants, particularly since the diet at *Ratisbon* left them in a worse case than it found them, that they had not only formed the conclusions of *Leipsick*, which all men looked upon

upon as the effect of desperation rather than a probable means of their deliverance, but he privately implored the protection and assistance of foreign powers, and particularly the King of Sweden, from whom they had promises of speedy and powerful assistance. And truly the Swedes had not with a very strong hand rescued them, all their conclusions at *Leipsick* had served but to hasten their ruin. I remember very well in the Imperial army they discoursed with such contempt of the forces of the protestants, that not only the Imperialists but the protestants themselves gave them up as lost: the Emperor had not less than 200000 men in several armies on foot, who most of them were the back of the protestants in every corner.

Tilly did but write a threatening letter to any city or Prince of the union, they presently submitted, renounced the conclusions of *Leipsick* and received Imperial garrisons, as the cities *Ulm* and *Memingen*, the duchy of *Wirttemberg* and several others, and almost all *Suaben*.

Only the Duke of *Saxony* and the Landgrave of *Hesse* upheld the drooping courage of the protestants and refused all terms of peace; slighted all the threatenings of the Imperial generals, and the Duke of *Brandenburgh* was brought in afterwards almost by force.

The Duke of *Saxony* mustered his forces under the walls of *Leipsick*, and I having returned to *Leipsick* two days before, saw them pass in review. The Duke, gallantly mounted, rode through the ranks, attended by his Field Marshal

thal *Arnheim*, and seemed mighty well pleased with them, and indeed the troops made a very fine appearance; but I who had seen *Tilly's* army, and his old weather-beaten soldiers, whose discipline and exercises were so exact, and their courage so often tried, could not look on the *Saxon* army without some concern, when I considered who they had to deal with; *Tilly's* men were rugged surly fellows, their faces had an air of hardy courage, mangled with wounds and scars, their armour shewed the bruises of musquet bullets; and the rust of winter storms; I observed their cloaths were always dirty, but their arms were clean and bright; they were used to camp in the open fields, and sleep in the frosts and rain; their horses were strong and hardy like themselves, and well taught in their exercises; the soldiers knew their business so exactly that general orders were enough; every private man was fit to command, and their wheelings, marchings, countermarchings and exercises were done with such order and readiness, that the distinct words of command were hardly of any use among them; they were flushed with victory, and scarcely knew what it was to fly.

There had passed some messages between *Tilly* and the Duke, and he gave always such ambiguous answers as he thought might serve to gain time; but *Tilly* was not to be put off with words, and drawing his army towards *Saxony*, sends four propositions to him to sign, and demands immediate reply; the propositions were positive.

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1. To cause his troops to enter into the Emperor's service, and to march in person with them against the King of *Sweden*.

2. To give the *Imperial* army quarters in his country, and supply them with necessary provisions.

3. To relinquish the union of *Leipsick*, and disown the ten conclusions.

4. To make restitution of the goods and lands of the church.

The Duke being pressed by *Tilly's* trumpet for an immediate answer, sat all night, and part of the next day with his privy counsellors, debating what reply to give, which at last was concluded, in short, that he would live and die in defence of the protestant religion and the conclusions of *Leipsick*, and bad *Tilly* defiance.

The day being thus cast, he immediately decamped with his whole army for *Torgau*, fearing that *Tilly* should get there before him, and so prevent his junction with the *Swede*. The Duke had not yet concluded any positive treaty with the King of *Swedeland*, and the Duke of *Brandenburgh* having made some difficulty of joining, they both stood on some niceties till they had like to have ruined themselves at once.

Brandenburgh had given up the town of *Span-dau* to the King by a former treaty to secure a retreat for his army, and the King was advanced as far as *Frankfort* upon the *Oder*, when on a sudden some small difficulties arising, *Brandenburgh* seemed cold in the matter, and with a sort of

of indifference, demands his town of *Spandau* to be restored again. *Gustavus Adolphus*, who began presently to imagine the Duke had made his peace with the Emperor, and so would either be his enemy, or pretend a neutrality, generously delivered him his town of *Spandau*; but immediately turns about, and with his whole army besieges him in his capital city of *Berlin*. This brought the Duke to know his error, and by the interposition of the ladies, the Queen *Sof weden* being the Duke's sister, the matter was accommodated, and the Duke joined his forces with the King.

But the Duke of *Saxony* had like to have been undone by this delay, for the *Imperialists*, under Count de *Furstenburgh*, were entered his country, and had possessed themselves of *Hall*, and *Tilly* was on his march to join him, as he afterward did, and ravaging the whole country laid siege to *Leipsick* itself; the Duke driven to this extremity rather flies to the *Swede* than treats with him, and on the 2d of *September* the Duke's army joined with the King of *Sweden*.

I came to *Leipsick* to see the Duke of *Saxony's* army, and that being marched as I have said for *Torgau*, I had no business there; but if I had, the approach of *Tilly* and the *Imperial* army was enough to hasten me away, for I had no occasion to be besieged there; so on the 27th of *August* I left the town, as several of the principal inhabitants had done before, and more would have done had not the governor published a proclamation against it; and besides they knew not
whither

whither to fly, for all places were alike exposed, the poor people were under dreadful apprehensions of a siege, and of the merciless usage of the *Imperial* soldiers, the example of *Magdenburgh* being fresh before them, the Duke and his army gone from them, and the town, tho' well furnished, but indifferently fortified.

In this condition I left them, buying up stores of provisions, working hard to scour their moats, set up palisadoes, repair their fortifications, and preparing all things for a siege; and following the *Saxon* army to *Torgau*, I continued in the camp till a few days before they joined the King of *Sweden*.

I had much ado to dissuade my companion from entering to the service of the Duke of *Saxony*, one of whose colonels, with whom we had contracted a particular acquaintance, offering a commission to be cornet in one of the old regiments of horse; but the difference I had observed between this new army and *Tilly's* old troops, had made such an impression, that I confess I had no manner of inclination for the service; and therefore persuaded him to wait awhile till we had seen a little further into affairs, and particularly till we had seen the *Swedish* army, which we had heard so much of.

The difficulties which the Elector Duke of *Saxony* made of joining with the King were made up by a treaty concluded with the King on the 2d of *September* at *Coswig*, a small town on the *Elbe*, where the King's army was arrived the night before; for General *Tilly* being now entered

tered into the Duke's country, had plundered and ruined all the lower part, and was now actually besieging the capital city of *Leipsick*.—These necessities made almost any conditions easy to him, the greatest difficulty was that the King of *Sweden* demanded the absolute command of the army, which the Duke submitted to with less good will than he had reason to do, the King's experience and conduct considered.

I had not patience to attend the conclusions of their particular treaties, but as soon as ever the passage was clear I quitted the *Saxon* camp, and went to see the *Swedish* army: I fell in with the out-guards of the *Swedes* at a little town called *Beltzig*, on the river *Wersa*, just as they were relieving the guards, and going to march, and having a pass from the *English* ambassador was very well received by the officers who changed the guards, and with him I went into the army; by nine in the morning the army was in full march, the King at the head of them on a grey pad, and riding from one brigade to another, ordered the march of every line himself.

When I saw the *Swedish* troops, their exact discipline, their order, the modesty and familiarity of their officers, and the regular living of the soldiers, their camp seemed a well ordered city; the meanest country woman with her market ware was as safe from violence as in the streets of *Vienna*. There were no regiments of whores and rags such as followed the *Imperialists*; nor any women in the camp, but such as being known to the provosts to be wives of the soldiers,

ers, who were necessary for washing linen, taking care of the soldiers' cloaths and dressing victuals.

The soldiers were well clad, not gay, furnished with excellent arms, and exceeding careful of them; and though they did not seem so terrible as I thought *Tilly's* men did when I first saw them, yet the figure they made, together with what he had heard of them, made them seem to me invincible. The discipline and order of their marchings, camping and exercise was excellent and singular, and which was to be seen in no armies but the King's, his own skill, judgment and vigilance, having added much to the general conduct of armies then in use.

As I met the *Swedes* on their march I had no opportunity to acquaint myself with any body till after the junction of the *Saxon* army, and then it being but four days to the great battle of *Leipsick*, our acquaintance was small, saving what fell accidentally by conversation.

I met with several gentlemen in the King's army who spoke *English* very well, besides that there were three regiments of *Scots* in the army, the colonels whereof I found were extraordinarily esteemed by the King, as the Lord *Rea*, Colonel *Lumsdell* and Sir *John Hepburn*: the latter of these, after I had by an accident become acquainted with, I found had been for many years acquainted with my father, and on that account I received a great deal of civility from him, which afterward grew into a kind of intimate friendship; he was a complete soldier
indeed.

Indeed, and for that reason so well beloved by that gallant King, that he hardly knew how to go about any great action without him.

It was impossible for me now to restrain my young comrade from entering into the *Swedish* service, and indeed every thing were so inviting that I could not blame him. A captain in Sir *John Hepburn's* regiment had picked acquaintance with him, and he having as much gallantry in his face as real courage in his heart; the captain had persuaded him to take service, and promised to use his interest to get him a company in the *Scotch* brigade. I had made him promise not to part from me in my travels without my consent, which was the only obstacle to his desires of entering into *Swedish* pay; and being one evening in the captain's tent with him, and discoursing very freely together, the captain asked him very short but friendly, and looking earnestly at me, "Is this the Gentleman, Mr. *Fielding*, that has done so much prejudice to the King of *Sweden's* service? I was doubly surprised at the expression, and at the Colonel, Sir *John Hepburn*, coming at that very moment into the tent; the Colonel hearing something of the question, but knowing nothing of the reason of it, any more than as I seemed a little to concern myself at it; yet after the ceremony due to his character was over, would needs know what I had done to hinder his majesty's service." "So much truly, (says the captain) that if his majesty knew it he would think himself very little beholden to him. "I
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am sorry, Sir, (says I) I should offend in any thing, who am but a stranger; but if you would please to inform me, I would endeavour to alter any thing in my behaviour that is prejudicial to any one, much less to his majesty's service." — "I shall take you at your word, Sir; (says the captain) the King of *Sweden*, Sir, has a particular request to you." "I should be glad to know two things, Sir; (said I) first, how can that be possible; since I am not yet known to any man in the army, much less to his majesty? And, secondly, what the request may be?" — "Why, Sir, his majesty desires you would not hinder this Gentleman from entering into his service, who it seems desires nothing more, if he may have your consent." "I have too much honour for his majesty, (returned I) to deny any thing which he pleases to command; but methinks it is some hardship, you should make that the King's order, which it is very probable he knows nothing of." Sir *John Hepburn* took the case up something gravely, and drinking a glass of *Leipsick* beer to the captain, said, "Come, captain, do not press these Gentlemen; the King desires no man's service but what is purely volunteer." So we entered into other discourse and the colonel perceiving by my talk, that I had seen *Tilly's* army, was mighty curious in his questions, and seemed very well satisfied with the account I gave him.

The next day the army having passed the *Elbe* at *Wittemberg*, and joined the *Saxon* army near *Torgau*, his majesty caused both armies to draw
up

up in battalia, giving every brigade the same post in the lines as he purposed to fight in: I must do the memory of that glorious general this honour, that I never saw an army drawn up with so much variety, order and exact regularity since, though I have seen many armies drawn up by some of the greatest captains of the age; the order by which the men were directed to flank and relieve one another, the methods of receiving one body of men if disordered into another, and rallying one squadron, without disordering another was so admirable; the horse every where flanked, lined and defended by the foot, and the foot by the horse, and both by the cannon, was such; that if those orders were but as punctually obeyed, it were impossible to put an army so modelled into confusion.

The view being over, and the troops returned to their camps, the captain with whom we drank the day before meeting me, told me I must come and sup with him in his tent, where he would ask my pardon for the affront he gave me before. I told him he need not put himself to the trouble; I was not affronted at all, that I would do myself the honour to wait on him, provided he would give me his word not to speak any more of it as an affront.

We had not been a quarter of an hour in his tent before Sir *John Hepburn* came in again, told me he was glad to find me there; that he came to the captain's tent to enquire how to send to me; and that I must do him the honour to go with him to wait on the King, who had

a mind to hear the account I could give him of the *Imperial* army from my own mouth. I must confess I was at some loss in my mind how to make my address to his majesty; but I had heard so much of his conversable temper and particular sweetness of humour with the meanest soldier, that I made no more difficulty, but having paid my respects to Colonel *Hepburn*, thanked him for the honour he had done me, and offered to rise and wait on him: nay, says the colonel, we will eat first, for I find *Gourdon*, which was the captain's name, has got something for supper, and the King's order is at seven o'clock: so we went to supper, and Sir *John* becoming very friendly, must know my name; which, when I had told him, and of what place and family, he rose from his seat and embracing me, told me he knew my father very well, and had been intimately acquainted with him; and told me several passages wherein my father had particularly obliged him.

After this we went to supper, and the King's health being drank round, the colonel moved the sooner because he had a mind to talk with me; when we were going to the King, he enquired where I had been, and what occasion brought me to the army. I gave him the short history of my travels, and that I came hither from *Vienna* on purpose to see the King of *Sweden* and his army; he asked me if there was any service he could do me, by which he meant, whether I desired an employment; I pretended not to take him so, but told him the protection
his

his acquaintance would afford me was more than I could have asked, since I might thereby have opportunity to satisfy my curiosity, which was the chief end of my coming abroad. He perceiving by this that I had no mind to be a soldier, told me very kindly I should command him in any thing; that his tent and equipage, horses and servants, should have orders always to be at my service: but that as a piece of friendship, he would advise me to retire to some place distant from the army, for they would march to-morrow, and the King was resolved to fight General *Tilly*, and he would not have me hazard myself; that if I thought fit to take his advice, he would have me take that interval to see the court at *Berlin*, whither he would send one of his servants to wait on me: his discourse was too kind not to extort the tenderest acknowledgment that I was capable of; I told him his care was so obliging, that I knew not what return to make, but if he pleased to leave me to my choice, I desired no greater favour than to trail a pike under his command in the ensuing battle.

I can never answer it to your father, says he, to suffer you to expose yourself so far. I replied my father would certainly acknowledge his friendship in the proposal; but I believed he knew him better than to think he would be well pleased with me if I should accept of it; that I was sure my father would have rode post 500 miles to have been at such a battle under such a general, and it should never be told him that
his

his son had rode 50 miles to be out of it. He seemed to be something concerned at the resolution I had taken, and replied very quickly upon me, that he approved very much of my courage; but, says he, no man gets any credit by running into needless adventures, nor loses any by shunning hazards which he has no order for. It is enough, says he, for a gentleman to behave well when he is commanded upon any service; I have had fighting enough, says he, upon these points of honour, and I never got any thing but reproof for it from the King himself.

Well, Sir, said I, however if a man expects to rise by his valour, he must shew it somewhere; and if I were to have any command in an army, I would first try whether I could deserve it; I have never yet seen any service, and must have my induction sometime or other: I shall never have a better master than yourself, nor a better school than such an army. Well, says Sir *John*, but you may have the same school and the same teaching after this battle is over; for I must tell you before-hand, this will be a bloody touch; *Tilly* has a great army of old lads that are used to boxing; fellows with iron faces, and it is a little too much to engage so hotly the first entrance into the wars: you may see our discipline this winter, and make your campaign with us next summer, when you need not fear but we shall have fighting enough, and you will be better acquainted with things: we do never put our common soldiers upon pitched battles the first campaign, but place our new men in
garrisons

garrisons and try them in parties first. Sir, said I with a little more freedom, I believe I shall not make a trade of the war, and therefore need not serve an apprenticeship : it is a hard battle where none escapes. If I come off, I hope not to disgrace you, and if not, it will be some satisfaction to my father to hear his son died fighting, under the command of Sir *John Hepburn* in the army of the King of *Sweden*, and I desire no better epitaph upon my tomb. Well, says Sir *John*, and by this time we were just come to the King's quarters, and the guards calling to us interrupted his reply ; so we went into the court-yard where the King was lodged, which was in an indifferent house of one of the burghers of *Debein*, and Sir *John* stepping up, met the King coming down some steps into a large room which looked over the town-wall into a field where part of the artillery were drawn up. Sir *John Hepburn* sent his man presently to me to come up, which I did ; and Sir *John* without any ceremony takes me up to the King, who was leaning on his elbow in the window. The King turning about, this is the *English* gentleman, says Sir *John*, whom I told your majesty had been in the *Imperial* army. How then did he get hither, says the King, without being taken by the scouts ? At which question Sir *John* saying nothing ; by a pass, and please your majesty, from the *English* ambassador's secretary at *Vienna*, said I, making a profound reverence. Have you then been at *Vienna*, says the King ? Yes, and please your majesty, said I ;

I; upon which the King folding up a letter he had in his hand, seemed much more earnest to talk about *Vienna*, than about *Tilly*. And pray what news had you at *Vienna*? Nothing, Sir, said I, but daily accounts one in the neck of another of their own misfortunes, and your majesty's conquests, which makes a very melancholy court there. But pray, said the King, what is the common opinion there about these affairs? The common people are terrified to the last degree, said I, and when your Majesty took *Frankfort* upon *Oder*, if your army had marched but 20 miles into *Silesia*, half the people would have run out of *Vienna*, and I left them fortifying the city. They need not, replied the King smiling, I have no design to trouble them, it is the protestant countries I must be for. Upon this the Duke of *Saxony* entered the room, and finding the King engaged, offered to retire; but the King beckoned with his hand and called to him in *French*, cousin, says the King, this gentleman has been travelling and comes from *Vienna*, and so made me repeat what I had said before; at which the King went on with me, and Sir *John Hepburn* informing his majesty that I spoke high *Dutch*, he changed his language, and asked me in high *Dutch* where it was that I saw General *Tilly's* army; I told his majesty at the siege of *Magdenburgh*. At *Magdenburgh*! said the King, shaking his head, *Tilly* must answer to me one day for that city, and if not to me to a greater King than I. Can you guess what army he had with him, said the King?—
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He had two armies with him, said I, but one I suppose will do your majesty no harm. Two armies! said the King. Yes, Sir, he has one army of about 26000 men, said I, and another of above 15000 whores and their attendants; at which the King laughed heartily: ay, ay, says the King, those do us as much harm as the 26000; for they eat up the country, and devour the poor protestants more than the men. Well, says the King, do they talk of fighting us?—They talk big enough, Sir, said I, but your majesty has not been so often fought with, as beaten in their discourse. I know not for the men, says the King, but the old man is as likely to do it as talk of it, and I hope to try them in a day or two. The King enquired after of several matters about the *Low Countries*, the Prince of *Orange*, and of the court and affairs in *England*; and Sir *John Hepburn* informing his majesty that I was the son of an *English* gentleman of his acquaintance, the King had the goodness to ask him what care he had taken of me against the day of battle. Upon which Sir *John* repeated to him the discourse we had together by the way; the King seemed particularly pleased with it, began to take me to task himself. You *English* gentlemen, says he, are too forward in the wars, which makes you leave them too soon again. Your majesty, replied I, makes war in so pleasant a manner, as makes all the world fond of fighting under your conduct. Not so pleasant neither, says the King, here's a man can tell you that sometimes it is not very pleasant.

pleasant. I know not much of the warrior, Sir, said I, nor of the world, but if always to conquer be the pleasure of the war, your majesty's soldiers have all that can be desired. Well, says the King, but however considering all things, I think you would do well to take the advice Sir *John Hepburn* has given you. Your majesty may command me to any thing, but where your majesty and so many gallant gentlemen hazard their lives, mine is not worth mentioning; and I should not dare to tell my father at my return into *England* that I was in your majesty's army; and made so mean a figure that your majesty would not permit me to fight under that royal standard. Nay, replied the King, I lay no commands, but you are young. I can never die, Sir, said I, with more honour than in your majesty's service; I spake this with so much freedom, and his majesty was so pleased with it, that he asked me how I would chuse to serve, on horseback or on foot; I told his majesty I should be glad to receive any of his majesty's commands, but if I had not the honour purposed of trailing a pike under Sir *John Hepburn*, who had done me so much honour as to introduce me to his majesty's presence. Do so then, replied the King, and turning to Sir *John Hepburn*, said, and pray do you take care of him; at which, overcome with the goodness of his discourse I could not answer a word, but made him a profound reverence and retired.

The next day but one, being the 7th of *September*, before day the army marched from *Dei-*
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ben to a large field about a mile from *Leipsick*, where we found *Tilly's* army in full battalia in admirable order, which made a shew both glorious and terrible. *Tilly*, like a fair gamester, had taken up but one side of the plain, and left the other free, and all the avenues open for the King's army; nor did he stir to the charge till the King's army was completely drawn up and advanced towards him: he had in his army 44000 old soldiers, every way answerable to what I said before; and, shall only add, a better army I believe never were so foundly beaten.

The King was not much inferior in force, being joined with the *Saxons*, who were reckoned 22000, and who drew up on the left, making a main battle and two wings, as the King did on the right.—His majesty placed himself at the right wing of his own horse; *Gustavus Horn* had the main battle of the *Swedes*, the Duke of *Saxony* had the main battle of his own troops, and General *Arnheim* the right wing of his horse. The second line of the *Swedes* consisted of the two *Scotch* brigades, and three *Swedish* with the *Finland* horse in the wing.

In the beginning of the fight, *Tilly's* right wing charged with such irresistible fury upon the left of the King's army where the *Saxons* were posted, that nothing could withstand them; the *Saxons* fled amain, and some of them carried the news over the country that all was lost, and the King's army overthrown; and indeed it passed for an oversight with some, that the King did not place some of his old troops among the

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Saxons

Saxons who were new raised men: the *Saxons* lost here near 2000 men; and hardly ever shewed their faces again all the battle, except some few of their horse.

I was posted with my companion, the captain, at the head of three *Scotch* regiments of foot, commanded by Sir *John Hepburn*, with exprefs directions from the colonel to keep by him. Our post was in the second line, as a reserve to the King's main battle, and which was strange, the main battle, which consisted of four great brigades of foot, were never charged during the whole fight; and yet we, who had the reserve, were obliged to endure the whole weight of the *Imperial* army; the occasion was, the right wing of the *Imperialists* having defeated the *Saxons*, and being eager in the chase, *Tilly*, who was an old soldier, and ready to prevent all mistakes, forbids any pursuit; let them go, says he, but let us beat the *Swedes*, or we do nothing. Upon this the victorious troops fall in upon the flank of the King's army, which by the *Saxons* being fled lay open to them. *Gustavus Horn* commanded the left wing of the *Swedes*, and having first defeated some regiments which charged him, falls in upon the rear of the *Imperial* right wing, and separates them from the van, who were advanced a great way forward in pursuit of the *Saxons*; and having routed the rear or reserve, falls on *Tilly's* main battle, and defeated part of them, the other part were gone in chase of the *Saxons*, and now also returned, fell in upon the rear of the left wing of the
Swedes

Swedes, charging them in the flank ; for they drew up on the very ground which the *Saxons* had quitted. This changed the whole front, and made the *Swedes* face about to the left, and make a great front on their flank to make this good ; our brigades, who were placed as a reserve for the main battle, were by special order from the King, wheeled about to the left, and placed for the right of this new front to charge the *Imperialists* ; they were about 12000 of their best foot, beside horse ; and flushed with the execution of the *Saxons*, fell on like fury. The King by this time had almost defeated the *Imperialists* left wing ; their horse, with more haste than good speed, had charged faster than their foot could follow, and having broke into the King's first line, he let them go ; where, while the second line bears the thock, and bravely resisted them ; the King follows them on the crupper with thirteen troops of horse and some musqueteers, by which being hemmed in, they were all cut down in a moment as it were, and the army never disordered with them. This fatal blow to the left wing, gave the King more leisure to defeat the foot who followed, and to send some assistance to *Gustavus Horn* in his left wing, who had his hands full with the main battle of the *Imperialists*.

But those troops, who, as I said, had routed the *Saxons*, being called off from the pursuit, had charged our flank and were now grown very strong, renewed the battle in a terrible manner ; here it was I saw our men go to wrack ; Colonel

nel *Hall*, a brave soldier, commanded the rear of the *Swedes* left wing; he fought like a lion, but was slain, and most of his regiment cut off, though not unrevenged; for they entirely ruined *Furstenberg's* regiment of foot. Colonel *Cullembach* with his regiment of horse, were extremely overlaid also, and the colonel and many brave officers killed; in short, all that wing were shattered and in an ill condition.

At this juncture came the King, and having seen what havock the enemy made of *Cullembach's* troops, he comes riding along the front of our three brigades, and led us on to the charge himself; the colonel of his guards, the Baron *Dyvel*, was shot dead just as the King had given him some orders: when the *Scots* advanced, seconded by some regiments of horse which the King also sent to the charge, the bloodiest fight began that ever man beheld, for the *Scotch* brigades giving fire three ranks at a time over one another's heads, poured in their shot so thick, that the enemy were cut down like grass before a scythe; and following into the thickest of their foot with the clubs of their musquets, made a most dreadful slaughter, and yet there was no flying: *Tilly's* men might be killed and knocked down, but no man turned his back, nor would give an inch of ground, but as they were wheeled, marched, or retreated by their officers.

There was a regiment of cuirassiers, which stood whole to the last, and fought like heroes, when all their army was broken, went ranging
over

over the field, and nobody cared for charging them; they were commanded by Baron *Cronenburgh*, and at last went off from the battle whole. These were armed with black armour from head to foot, and they carried off their general. About six o'clock the field was cleared of the enemy, except at one place on the King's side, where some of them rallied, and though they knew all was lost would take no quarter, but fought it out to the last man, being found dead the next day, in rank and file as they were drawn up.

I had the good fortune to receive no hurt in this battle, excepting a small scratch on the side of my neck by the push of a pike; but my friend received a very dangerous wound when the battle was nearly over: he had engaged with a *German* colonel, whose name we could never learn, and having killed his man, and pressed very close upon him so that he had shot his horse, the horse in the fall kept the colonel down, lying on one of his legs, upon which he demanded quarter, which Captain *Fielding* granting, helped him to quit his horse, and having disarmed him, was bringing him into the line, when the regiment of cuirassiers, which I mentioned, commanded by Baron *Cronenburgh*, came roving over the field, and with a flying charge saluted our front with a salvo of carabin shot; which wounded us a great many men, and among the rest the captain received a shot in his thigh, which laid him on the ground, and being separated from the line, his prisoner got away with them.

This

This was the first service I was in, and indeed I never saw any fight since maintained with such gallantry, such desperate valour, together with such dexterity of management, both sides being composed of soldiers fully tried, bred to the wars, expert in every thing, exact in their order, and incapable of fear, which made the battle much more bloody than usual. Sir *John Hepburn*, at my request, took particular care of my comrade, and sent his own surgeon to look after him; and afterwards, when the city of *Leipsick* was re-taken, provided him lodgings there, and came very often to see him; and indeed I was in great care for him too, the surgeons being very doubtful of him a great while; for having lain in the field all night among the dead, his wound, for want of dressing, and with the extremity of cold, was in a very ill condition, and the pain of it had thrown me into a fever. It was quite dusk before the fight ended, especially where the last rallied troops fought so long, and therefore we dare not break our orders to seek out our friends, so that it was near seven o'clock the next morning before we found the captain, who though very weak by the loss of blood, had raised himself up, and placed his back against the buttock of a dead horse; I was the first that knew him, and running to him, embraced him with a great deal of joy: he was not able to speak, but made signs to let me see he knew me, so we brought him into the camp, and Sir *John Hepburn*, as I noted before, sent his own surgeons to look after him,

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The darkness of the night prevented any pursuit, and was the only refuge the enemy had left; for had there been three hours more daylight, ten thousand more lives had been lost, for the *Swedes*, and *Saxons* especially, enraged by the obstinacy of the enemy, were so thoroughly heated that they would have given quarter but to few; the retreat was not sounded till seven o'clock, when the King drew up the whole army upon the field of battle, and gave strict command that none should stir from his order; so the army lay under arms all night, which was another reason why the wounded soldiers suffered very much by the cold; for the King, who had a bold enemy to deal with, was not ignorant what a small body of desperate men rallied together might have done in the darkness of the night, and therefore lay in his coach all night at the head of the line, though it froze very hard.

As soon as day began to peep, the trumpet sounded to horse, and all the dragoons and light horse in the army were commanded to the pursuit: the cuirassiers and some commanded musqueteers advanced some miles, if need were, to make good their retreat, and all the foot stood to their arms for a reserve; but in half an hour word was brought to the King, that the enemy was quite dispersed, upon which, detachments were made out of every regiment to search among the dead for any of our friends that were wounded; and the King himself gave a strict order, that if any were found wounded and alive among the enemy none should kill them,
but

but take care to bring them into the camp :
 piece of humanity which saved the lives of near
 a thousand of the enemy.

This piece of service being over, the enemy
 camp was seized on, and the soldiers permitted
 to plunder it ; all the canon, arms and ammu-
 nition were secured for the King's use, the re-
 main was given up to the soldiers, who found so much
 they had no reason to quarrel for shares.

For my share, I was so busy with my wounds
 captain that I got nothing but a sword, which
 I found just by when I first saw him ; but a
 man brought me a very good horse with furni-
 ture, and a pistol of extraordinary workmanship.

I bade him get upon his back and make the
 best of the day for himself, which he did, and
 I saw him no more till three days after, when
 he found me out at *Leipsick* so richly dressed
 that I hardly knew him ; and after making his
 excuse for being so long absent, gave me a very
 pleasant account where he had been. He told
 me that according to my order, being mounted
 on the horse he had brought me, he first rode
 into the field among the dead, to get some
 cloaths suitable to the equipage of his horse, and
 having seized on a laced coat, an helmet, a sword
 and an extraordinary good cane, was resolved to
 see what was become of the enemy, and follow-
 ing the track of the dragoons, which he could
 easily do by the bodies on the road, he fell in
 with a small party of 25 dragoons, under the
 command but a corporal, making to a village
 where some of the enemies horse had been quar-
 tered

tered; the dragoons taking him for an officer by his horse, desired him to command them, told him the enemy were very rich, and they doubted not a good booty: he was a bold brisk fellow, told them with all his heart; but said he had only one pistol, the other being broke with firing, so they lent him a pair of pistols, and a small piece they had taken, and he led them on. There had been a regiment of horse and some troops of *Crabats* in the village, but they were fled on the first notice of the pursuit, excepting three troops, and these on sight of this small party, supposing them to be only the first of a greater number, fled in the greatest confusion imaginable; they took the village and about 50 horses, with all the plunder of the enemy, and with the heat of the service he had spoiled my horse, he said, for which he had brought me two more; for he passing for the commander of the party, had all the advantage the custom of war gives an officer in like cases.

I was very well pleased with the relation the fellow gave me, and laughing at him, "Well, captain, (said I) and what plunder have you got?" "Enough to make me a captain, Sir, (says he) if you please, and a troop ready raised too; for the party of dragoons are posted in the village by my command, till they have farther orders." In short, he pulled out 60 or 70 pieces of gold, 5 or 6 watches, 13 or 14 rings, whereof two were diamond, and one of them worth 50 dollars: silver as much as his pockets would hold, beside that he had brought three horses,

two were laden with baggage, and he had hired a boor to stay with them at *Leipsick*, till he had found me. "But I am afraid, captain (says I) you plundered the village instead of plundering the enemy." "No indeed not we (says he) but the *Crabats* had done it for us, and we light of them just as they were carrying it off."—"Well, (said I) but what will you do with your men; for when you come to give them orders, they will know you well enough?" "No, no, (says he) I took care of that; for just now I gave a soldier five dollars to carry them news that the army were marched to *Moersburg*, and that they should follow thither to the regiment."

Having secured his money in my lodgings, he asked me if I pleased to see his horses, and to have one for myself? I told him I would see them in the afternoon; but the man being impatient goes and fetches them. There were three horses, one a very good one, and by the furniture an officer's horse of the *Crabats*, and that my man would have me accept, for the other he had spoiled, as he said: I was but indifferently horfed before, so I accepted of the horse, and went down with him to see the rest of his plunder; he had got three or four pair of pistols, two or three bundles of officers linen and lace, a field-bed and a tent, and several other things of value; but at last coming to a small fardel, and this, says he, I took whole from a *Crabat* running away with it under his arm, so he brought it up into my chamber; he had not looked into it, he said, but he understood it was
some

some plunder the soldiers had made, and finding it heavy took it by consent; we opened it and found it was a bundle of some linen, 13 or 14 pieces of plate, and in a small cup 3 rings, a fine necklace of pearl, and the value of 100 rix-dollars in money. The fellow was amazed at his own good fortune, and hardly knew what to do with himself. I bid him go take care of his other things, and of his horses, and come again; so he went and discharged the boor that waited, packed up all his plunder, and came up to me in his old cloaths again. "How now, captain, (says I) what have you altered your equipage already?" "I am no more ashamed of your livery (answered he) than of your service, and nevertheless your servant for what I have got by it." "Well, (says I to him) but what will you do with all your money?" "I wish my poor father had some of it, (says he) and for the rest I got it for you, Sir, and desire you would take it."

This was spoke with so much honesty and freedom, that I could not but take it very kind; but however, I told him I would not take a farthing from him, as his master; but I would have him play the good husband with it as he had had such good fortune. He told me he would take my directions in every thing. "Why then, (says I) I'll tell you what I would advise you to do, turn it all into ready money, and convey it by return home into *England*, and follow yourself the first opportunity, and with good management you may put yourself in a good situation."

situation." The man, with a sort of dejection in his looks, asked me, if he had disobliged me in any thing? Why, says I: that I was willing to turn him out of his service. "No, George, (that was his name) but you may live on this money without being a servant." "I would throw it all into the *Elbe*, (says he) over *Torgaw* bridge, rather than leave your service; and beside, (says he) cannot I save my money without going from you? I got it in your service, and I will never spend it out of it, unless you put me away. I hope my money will not make me the worse servant; if I thought so, I would soon have little enough." "Nay, George, (says I) I shall not oblige you to it, for I am not willing to lose you neither: so let us put all your effects together and see what they come to." So he laid all on the table, and by our computation he had got as much as was worth about 1400 rix-dollars; beside three horses with their furniture, a tent, bed, and some wearing linen. He then took the necklace of pearl, a very good watch, a diamond ring and 100 pieces of gold, and laid them by themselves, and having according to our best calculation valued the things, he put up all the rest, and as I was going to ask him what they were left out for, he takes them up in his hand, and coming round the table, told me, that if I did not think him unworthy of my service and favour, he begged I would give him leave to make that present to me; that his going out was my first thought; that he had got it all in my service, and he should

should think I had no kindness for him if I refused it. I was resolved in my mind not to take it from him, and yet I could find no means to resist his importunity; at last I told him I would accept part of his present, and that I esteemed his respect in that as much as the whole; and that I would not have him importune me farther, so I took the ring and watch with the horse and furniture as before, and made him turn all the rest into money at *Leipsick*, and not suffering him to wear his livery, made him put himself into a tolerable equipage, and taking a young *Leipsicker* into my service, he attended me as a gentleman from that time forward.

The King's army never entered *Leipsick* but proceeded to *Moersburg*, and from thence to *Hall* and so marched on into *Franconia*, while the Duke of *Saxony* employed his forces in recovering *Leipsick*, and driving the *Imperialists* out of his country. I continued at *Leipsick* 12 days, being not willing to leave *Fielding* till he was recovered; but Sir *John Hepburn* so often importuned me to come into the army, and sent me word that the King had very often enquired for me, that at last I consented to go without him; so having made our appointment where to meet and how to correspond by letters, I went to wait on Sir *John Hepburn*, who then lay with the King's army at the city of *Erfurt* in *Saxony*. As I was riding between *Leipsick* and *Hall* I observed my horse went very awkwardly and uneasy, and sweat very much, tho' the weather was cold, and we had rid but very gently;

gently ; I fancied therefore that the saddle might hurt the horse, and calls up my new captain ; *George*, says I, I believe this saddle hurts the horse ; so we alighted and looking under the saddle found the back of the horse extremely galled ; so I bid him take off the saddle, which he did, and giving the horse to my young *Leipsficker* to lead, we sat down to see if we could mend it, for there was no town near us : says *George*, pointing with his finger, if you please to cut open the pannel there, I'll get something to stuff into it which will bear it from the horse's back ; so while he looked for something to thrust in, I cut a hole in the pannel of the saddle, and following it with my finger I felt something hard, which seemed to move up and down ; again as I thrust it with my finger, here's something that should not be here, says I, not yet imagining what afterwards fell out, and calling, run back, bade him put up his finger ; whatever it is, says he, it is this hurts the horse, for it bears just on his back when the saddle is set on ; so we strove to take hold of it, but could not reach it ; at last we took the upper part of the saddle quite from the pannel, and there lay a small silk purse wrapt in a piece of leather, and full of gold ducats ; thou art born to be rich, *George*, says I to him, here's more money, we opened the purse and found in it 438 small pieces of gold, there I had a new skirmish with him whose the money should be ; I said it was his, he said no, I had accepted of the horse and furniture, and all that were about him was mine,
and

and solemnly vowed he would not have a penny of it. I saw no remedy but put up the money for the present, mended our saddle and went on; we lay that night at *Hall*, and having had such a booty in the saddle, I made him search the saddles of the other two horses; in one of which, we found three *French* crowns, but nothing in the other.

We arrived at *Erfurt* the 28th of *September*, but the army were removed, and entered into *Franconia*, and at the siege of *Koningshoven* we came up with them. The first thing I did, was to pay my civilities to Sir *John Hepburn*, who received me very kindly, but told me withal, that I had not done well to be so long from him; that the King had particularly enquired for me, and had commanded him to bring me to him at my return. I told him the reason of my stay at *Leipsck*, and how I had left that place and my companion, before he was cured of his wounds, to wait on him according to his letters. He told me the King had spoken some things very obliging about me, and he believed would offer me some command in the army, if I thought well to accept of it; I told him I had promised my father not to take service in an army without his leave; and yet if his Majesty should offer it, I neither knew how to resist it, nor had I an inclination to any thing more than the service, and such a leader; though I had much rather have served as a volunteer at my own charge, (which he knew was the custom of our *English* gentlemen) than in any command. He replied,

do

do, as you think fit; but some gentlemen would give 20000 crowns to stand so fair for advancement as you do.

The town of *Königsboven* capitulated that day, and Sir *John* was ordered to treat with the citizens, so I had no farther discourse with him then: and the town being taken, the army immediately advanced down the river *Main*, for the King had his eye upon *Frankfort* and *Mentz*, two great cities, both which he soon became master of, chiefly by the prodigious expedition of his march: for within a month after the battle, he was in the lower parts of the empire, and had passed from the *Elbe* to the *Rhine*, an incredible conquest; had taken all the strong cities; the bishoprics of *Bamberg*, *Witzburg*, and almost all the circle of *Franconia*, with part of *Schawberland*; a conquest large enough to be seven years completing by the common course of arms.

Business going on thus, the King had not leisure to think of small matters, and I being not thoroughly resolved in my mind, did not press Sir *John* to introduce me; I had wrote to my father an account of my reception in the army, the civilities of Sir *John Hepburn*, the particulars of the battle, and indeed pressed him to give me leave to serve the King of *Sweden*: to which particulars I waited an answer, but the following occasion determined me before an answer could possibly reach me.

The King was before the strong castle of *Marienburg*, which commands the city of *Wurtzburg*;

; he had taken the city, but the garrison
 cher part of the burghers were retired into
 ible, and trusting to the strength of the
 which was thought impregnable, they
 the *Swedes* do their worst; it was well
 led with all things, and a strong garrison
 so that the army indeed expected it would
 ng piece of work. The castle stood on a
 ock, and on the steep of a rock was a bas-
 which defended the only passage up the
 to the castle; the *Scots* were chose out to
 this attack, and the King was an eye wit-
 f their gallantry. In the action Sir *John*
 ot commanded out, but Sir *James Ramsay*
 em on, but I observed that most of the
 officers in the other regiments prepared
 ve as volunteers for the honour of their
 ymen, and Sir *John Hepburn* led them
 l was resolved to see this piece of service,
 erefore joined myself to the volunteers;
 re armed with partizans and each man two
 at his belt; it was a piece of service that
 l perfectly desperate, the advantage of the
 ie precipice we were to mount, the height
 bastion, the resolute courage and number
 garrison, who from a complete covert
 a terrible fire upon us, all joined to make
 ion hopeless; but the fury of the *Scotch*
 eteers was not to be abated by any diffi-
 ; they mounted the hill, scaled the works
 admen, running upon the enemy's pikes,
 er two hours desperate fight in the midst
 and smoke, took it by storm, and put all

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the garrison to the sword. The volunteers did their part, and had their share of the loss too, for 13 or 14 were killed out of 37, beside the wounded, among whom I received a hurt more troublesome than dangerous, by a thrust of an halberd into my arm, which proved a very painful wound, and it was a great while in being thoroughly recovered.

The King received us as we drew off at the foot of the hill, calling the soldiers *his brave Scots*. and commending the officers by name,—The next morning the castle was also taken by storm, and the greatest booty that ever was found in any one conquest in the whole war; the soldiers got here so much money that they knew not what to do with it, and the plunder they got here and at the battle of *Leipsick* made them so unruly, that had not the King been the best master of discipline in the world they had never been kept in any reasonable bounds.

The King had taken notice of our small party of volunteers, and though I thought he had not seen me, yet he sent the next morning for Sir *John Hepburn*, and asked him if I were not come to the army? “Yes, (says Sir *John*) he has been here two or three days:” and as he was forming an excuse for not having brought me to wait on his Majesty, says the King interrupting him, “I wonder you would let him thrust himself into such a hot piece of service as storming the *Port Graft*: pray let him know I saw him, and have a very good account of his behaviour.” Sir *John* returned with this account

to me, and pressed me to pay my duty to his Majesty the next morning; and accordingly, though I had but an ill night with the pain of my wound, I was with him at the levee in the castle.

I cannot but give some short account of the glory of that morning; the castle had been cleared of the dead bodies of the enemies, and what was not pillaged by the soldiers, was placed under a guard. There was first a magazine of very good arms for about 18 or 20000 foot and 4000 horse, a very good train of artillery of about 18 pieces of battery, 32 brass field-pieces and 4 mortars. The bishop's treasure, and other public monies not plundered by the soldiers, was telling out by the officers, and amounted to 400000 florins in money; and the burghers of the town in solemn procession, bare-headed, brought the King three tuns of gold as a composition to exempt the city from plunder. Here was also a stable of gallant horses which the King had the curiosity to go and see.

When the ceremony of the burghers was over the King came down into the castle court, walked on the parade (where the great train of artillery was placed on their carriages) and round the walls, and gave orders for repairing the bastion that was stormed by the *Scots*; and as at the entrance of the parade Sir *John Hepburn* and I made our reverence to the King, "Ho, cavalier, (said the King to me) I am glad to see you," and so passed forward; I made my bow very low, but his Majesty said no more at that time.

When

When the view was over the King went up into the lodgings, and Sir *John* and I walked in an anti-chamber for about a quarter of an hour, when one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber came out to Sir *John*, and told him the King asked for him; he staid but a little with the King and came out to me, and said the King had ordered him to bring me to him.

His Majesty, with a countenance full of honour and goodness, interrupted my compliment, and asked me how I did; at which answering only with a bow, says the King, "I am sorry to see you are hurt, I would have laid my commands on you not to have shewn yourself in so sharp a piece of service, if I had known you had been in the camp," "Your Majesty does me too much honour (said I) in your care of a life that has yet done nothing to deserve your favour." His Majesty was pleased to say something very kind to me relating to my behaviour in the battle of *Leipsick*, which I have not vanity enough to write; at the conclusion whereof, when I replied very humbly, I was not sensible any service I had done or could do would be possible to merit so much goodness; he told me he had ordered me a small testimony of his esteem, and withal gave me his hand to kiss: I was now conquered, and with a sort of surprise, told his Majesty, I found myself so much engaged by his goodness, as well as my own inclination, that if his Majesty would please to accept of my devoir I was resolved to serve in his army, or wherever he pleased to command me.

me. "Serve me, (says the King, so you do, but I must not have you be a musqueteer; a poor soldier at a dollar a week will do that." "Pray Sir *John*, (says the King) give him what commission he desires." "No commission, Sir, (says I) would please me better than leave to fight near your Majesty's person, and to serve you at my own charge till I am qualified by more experience to receive your commands." "Why then it shall be so, (said the King) and I charge you, *Hepburn*, when any thing offers that is either fit for him, or he desires, you will tell me of it," and giving me his hand again to kiss I withdrew.

I was followed before I had passed the castle-court by one of the King's pages, who brought me a warrant directed to Sir *John Hepburn* to go to the master of the horse for an immediate delivery of things ordered by the King himself for my account, where being come, the querry produced me a very good coach with four horses, harness and equipage, and two very fine saddle horses out of the bishop's stable; with these there was a list for three servants, and a warrant to the steward of the King's baggage to defray me my horses and servants at the King's charge till further orders. I was very much at a loss how to manage myself in this strange freedom of so great a Prince, and consulting with Sir *John Hepburn*, I was proposing to him whether it was not proper to go immediately back to pay my duty to his Majesty and acknowledge his bounty in the best terms I could; but while we

were

were resolving to do so, the guards stood to their arms, and we saw the King go out at the gate in his coach to pass into the city, so we were diverted from it for that time. I acknowledge the bounty of the King was very surprising, but I must say it was not so very strange to me when I afterward saw the course of his management; bounty in him was a natural talent, but he never distributed his favours only where he thought himself both beloved and faithfully served, and when he was so, even the single actions of his private soldiers he would take particular notice of, and publicly own, acknowledge and reward, of which I am obliged to give some instances.

A private musqueteer at the storming of the castle of *Wurtzburg*, when all the detachment were beat off, stood in the face of the enemy, fired his piece, and though he had 1000 shot made at him, stood unconcerned and charged his piece again, and let fly at the enemy, continuing to do so three times, at the same time beckoning with his hand to his fellows to come on again, which they did, animated by his example, and carried the place for the King.

When the town was taken the King ordered the regiment to be drawn out, and calling for that soldier, thanked him before them all for taking the town for him, gave him 1000 dollars in money, and a commission with his own hand for a foot company, or leave to go home, which he chose; the soldier took the commission on his knees, kissed and put it in his bosom, and told the King, he would never leave his service while he lived. This

This bounty of the King's, timed and suited by his judgment, was the reason he was very well served, universally beloved, and most punctually obeyed by his soldiers, who were sure to be cherished and encouraged, if they did well, having the King generally an eye-witness of their behaviour.

My indiscretion, rather than valour, had engaged me so far at the battle of *Leipsick*, that being in the van of Sir *John Hepburn's* brigade, almost three whole companies of us were separated from our line, and surrounded by the enemies pikes: I cannot but say also that we were disengaged rather by a desperate charge Sir *John* made with the whole regiment to fetch us off, than by our own valour, though we were not wanting to ourselves neither, but this part of the action being talked of very much to the advantage of the young *English* volunteer, and possibly more than I deserved, was the occasion of all the distinction the King used me with.

I had by this time letters from my father, in which, though with some reluctance, he left me at liberty to enter into arms if I thought fit, always obliging me to be directed, and, as he said, commanded by Sir *John Hepburn*; at the same time he wrote to Sir *John Hepburn*, commending his son's fortune, as he called it, to his care; which letters Sir *John* shewed the King, unknown to me.—I took care always to acquaint my father of every circumstance, and forgot not to mention his Majesty's extraordinary favour, which so affected my father that he obtained a
very

very honourable mention of it in a letter from King *Charles* to the King of *Sweden*, written by his own hand.

I had waited on his Majesty with Sir *John Hepburn*, to give him thanks for his magnificent present, and was received with his usual goodness, and after that I was every day among the gentlemen of his ordinary attendance; and if his Majesty went out on a party, as he would often do, or to view the country, I always attended him among the volunteers of whom great many always followed him; and he would often call me out, talk with me, send me or messages to towns, to Princes, free cities, and the like, upon extraordinary occasions.

The first piece of service he put me upon had like to have embroiled me with one of his favorite colonels. The King was marching through the *Bergstraet*, a low country on the edge of the *Rhine*, and, as all men thought, was going to besiege *Heidelberg*, but on a sudden orders a party of his guards, with five companies of Scots to be drawn out; while they were drawing out this detachment the King calls me to him, "H— cavalier, (says he, that was his usual word) you shall command this party;" and thereupon gives me orders to march back all night, and in the morning, by break of day, to take post under the walls of the fort of *Oppenheim*, and immediately to entrench myself as well as could. *Grave Neels*, the colonel of his guards thought himself injured by this command, but the King took the matter upon himself, and
Neels

Neels told me very familiarly afterwards, we have such a master, says he, that no man can be affronted by : I thought myself wronged, says he, when you commanded my men over my head ; but for my life, I knew not which way to be angry.

I executed my commission so punctually that by break of day I was set down within musquet shot of the fort, under covert of a little mount, on which stood a windmill, and had indifferently fortified myself, and at the same time had posted some of my men on two other passes, but at farther distance from the fort, so that it was effectually blocked up on the land side ; in the afternoon the enemy sallied on my first entrenchment, but being covered from their cannon, and defended by a ditch which I had drawn cross the road, they were so well received by my musqueteers that they retired with the loss of 6 or 7 men.

The next day Sir *John Hepburn* was sent with two brigades of foot to carry on the work, and so my commission ended ; the King expressed himself very well pleased with what I had done, and when he was so, was never sparing in telling it, for he used to say that public commendations were gaeat encouragements to valour.

While Sir *John Hepburn* lay before the fort, and was preparing to storm it, the King's design was to get over the *Rhine*, but the *Spaniards* who where in *Oppenheim* had sunk all the boats they could find ; at last the King being informed where some lay that were sunk caused them to

be weighed with all the expedition possible, and in the night of the 7th of *December* in three boats passed over his regiments of guards, about three miles above the town, and as the King thought secure from danger; but they were no sooner landed and not drawn into order but they were charged by a body of *Spanish* horse, and had not the darkness given them opportunity to draw up in the inclosures in several little parties, they had been in great danger of being disordered, but by this means they lined the hedges and lanes so with musqueteers, that the remainder had time to draw up in batalia, and saluted the horse in such a manner that they drew farther off.

The King was very impatient, hearing his men engaged, having no boats or possible means to get over to help them; at last, about eleven o'clock at night the boats came back, and the King thrust another regiment into them, and though his officers dissuaded him, would go over himself with them on foot, and did so. This was three months that very day since the battle of *Leipsick* was fought, and winter time too, that the progress of his arms had spread from the *Elbe*, where it parts *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, to the *Lower Palatinate* and the *Rhine*.

I went over in the boat with the King, and never saw him in so much concern in my life, for he was in pain for his men; but before we got on shore the *Spaniards* retired, however the King landed, ordered his men, and prepared to entrench, but he had not time; for by this the boats were put off again, the *Spaniards*, not
knowing

knowing more troops were landed, and being reinforced from *Oppenheim*, came on again, and charged with great fury ; but all things were now in order ; and they were readily received and beaten back again : they came on again a third time, and with repeated charges attacked us ; but at last finding us too strong for them they gave it over. By this time another regiment of foot were come over, and as soon as day appeared the King with the three regiments marched to the town, which surrendered at the first summons, and the next day the fort yielded to Sir *John Hepburn*.

The castle at *Oppenheim* held out still with a garrison of 800 *Spaniards*, and the King leaving 200 *Scots* of Sir *James Ramsay's* men in the town, drew out to attack the castle ; Sir *James Ramsay* being left wounded at *Wartsburgh*, the King gave me the command of those 200 men, which were a regiment, that is, all that were left of a gallant regiment of 2000 *Scots* which the King brought out of *Sweden* with him, under that brave colonel ; there were about 30 officers, who having no soldiers were yet in pay, and several as reformadoes with the regiment, and were over and above the 200 men.—The King designed to storm the castle on the lower side by the way that leads to *Mentz* ; and Sir *John Hepburn* landed from the other side and marched up to storm on the *Rhine* port.

My reformado *Scots* having observed that the town port of the castle was not so well guarded as the rest, all the eyes of the garrison being bent towards

towards the King and Sir *John Hepburn*; came running to me, and told me, they believed they could enter the castle sword in hand if I would give them leave. I said I dare not give them orders, my commission being only to keep and defend the town; but they being very importunate, I told them they were volunteers, and might do what they pleased, that I would lend them 50 men and draw up the rest to secure them, or bring them off, as I saw occasion, — as I might not hazard the town. This was much as they desired, they sallied immediately, and in a trice the volunteers scaled the port, cut in pieces the guard totally and burst open the gate, at which the 50 entered: finding the gate won I advanced immediately with 100 musqueteers more, having locked up all the gates in the town but the castle port, and leaving 50 still for a reserve just at that gate; the townsmen too seeing the castle as it were taken, run to arms, and followed me with above 200 men; the *Spaniards* were knocked down by the *Scots* before they knew what the matter was, and the King and Sir *John Hepburn* advancing to storm, were surprised, when instead of resistance, they saw the *Spaniards* throwing themselves over the walls to avoid the fury of the *Scots*; few of the garrison got away, as most of them were either killed or taken, and having cleared the castle, I set open the port on the King's side, and sent his Majesty word the castle was his own. The King came on, and entered on foot, I received him at the head of the *Scots* reformadoes, who

all saluted him with their pikes. The King gave them his hat, and turning about, " brave *Scots*, (says he smiling) you were too quick for me;" then beckoning to me, made me tell him how and in what manner we had managed the storm, which he was exceedingly well pleased with, but especially at the caution I had used to bring them off if they had miscarried, and secure the town.

From hence the army marched to *Mentz*, which in four days time capitulated, with the fort and citadel, and the city paid his Majesty 300000 dollars to be exempted from the fury of the soldiers; here the King himself drew the plan of those invincible fortifications which to this day make it one of the strongest cities in *Germany*.—*Friburg*, *Koningstien*, *Niustat*, *Keiser-Lautern*, and almost all the *Lower Palatinate*, surrendered at the very terror of the King of *Sweden's* approach, and never suffered the danger of a siege.

The King held a most magnificent court at *Mentz*, attended by the Landgrave of *Hesse*, with an incredible number of Princes and Lords of the empire, with ambassadors and residents of foreign Princes; and here his Majesty staid till *March*, when the Queen with a great retinue of *Swedish* nobility came from *Erfurt* to see him. The King attended by a gallant train of *German* nobility went to *Frankfort*, and from thence on to *Hoeft*, to meet the Queen, where her Majesty arrived *Feb. 8th*.

During the King's stay in these parts, his armies

The taking of *Greutznach* was the next vice of any moment; the King drew out in person to the siege of this town; they soon took a party, but the castle seemed a work of masonry, for its situation was so strong and surrounded with works behind and above one another, that most people thought the King would receive a check from it; but it was not able to resist the resolution of the King of Sweden.

He never battered it but with two small pieces, but having viewed the works himself ordered a mine under the first ravelin, which being sprung with success, he commanded a flight. I think there were not more commanded than volunteers, both *English*, *Scots*, *French*, *Germans*. My old comrade was by this recovered of his wound at *Leipsick*, and was one. The first body of volunteers about were led on by my Lord *Craven*, and I led the second, among whom were most of the brave made *Scots* officers who took the castle of *Oberheim*; the first party were not able to make anything of it, the garrison fought with so much fury that many of the volunteer gentlemen being wounded, and some killed, the rest were beaten off with loss. The King was in passion at his men, and rated them for running away, as he called it, though they really were treated in good order, and commanded them to be renewed. It was our turn to fight next; our *Scotch* officers not being useful, we beat, advanced immediately, and Lord *Craven* with his volunteers, pierced in with us, f

ing gallantly in the breach with a pike in his hand, and to give him the honour due to his bravery, he was the first on the top of the rampart, and gave his hand to my comrade, and lifted him up after him ; we helped one another up, till at last almost all the volunteers had gained the height of the ravelin, and maintained it with a great deal of resolution, expecting when the commanded men had gained the height to advance upon the enemy; when one of the enemy's captains called to my Lord *Craven*, and said if they might have honourable terms they would capitulate, which my lord telling him he would engage for, the garrison fired no more, and the captain leaping down from the next rampart, came with Lord *Craven* into the camp, where the conditions were agreed upon, and the castle surrendered.

After the taking of this town, the King hearing of *Tilly's* approach, and how he had beaten *Gustavus Horn*, the King's field marshal out of *Bamberg*, began to draw his forces together, and leaving the care of his conquests in these parts to his chancellor *Oxenstern*, prepares to advance towards *Bavaria*.

I had taken an opportunity to wait upon his Majesty with Sir *John Hepburn*, and being about to introduce the discourse of my father's letter, the King told me he had received a compliment in my account in a letter from King *Charles*. I told him his Majesty had by his exceeding generosity bound me and all my friends to pay their acknowledgments to him, and that I supposed my

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my father had obtained such a mention o ~~ff~~ from the King of *England* as gratitude mo~~ved~~ed him to; that his Majesty's favour had b~~een~~een shewn to me in a family both willing and ready to serve him, that I had received some co~~m~~mands from my father, which if his Majesty pleased to do me the honour to accept of, might put me in a condition to acknowledge his Majesty's goodness in a manner more proportioned to the sense I had of his favour; and with that I produced my father's letter, and read that clause in it which related to the regiment of horse, which was as follows :

“ *I Read with a great deal of satisfaction, the account you give of the great and extraordinary conquests of the King of Sweden, and with more his Majesty's singular favour to you, I hope you will be careful to value and deserve so much honour; I am glad you rather chose to serve as a volunteer at your own charge, than to take any command, which for want of experience you might have misbehaved in.*”

“ *I have obtained of the King that he will particularly thank his Majesty of Sweden for the honour he has done you, and if his Majesty gives you so much freedom, I could be glad you should in the humblest manner thank his Majesty in the name of an old broken soldier.*”

“ *If you think yourself officer enough to command them, and his Majesty pleased to accept them, I would have you offer to raise his Majesty a regiment of horse, which I think I may nearly complete in*
our

our neighbourhood, with some of your old acquaintance who are willing to see the world. If his Majesty gives you the word, they shall receive his command in the Maes, the King having promised me to give them arms, and transport them for that service into Holland; and I hope they may do his Majesty such service as may be for your honour and the advantage of his Majesty's interest and glory."

"Your loving father."

* * * *

"It is an offer like a gentleman and a soldier, (says the King) and I'll accept of it, on two conditions. First, that I will pay your father the advance-money for raising the regiment; and next, that they shall be landed in the *Weser* or the *Elbe*, for which, if the King of *England* will not, I will pay the passage; for if they land in *Holland*, it may prove very difficult to get them to us when the army shall be marched out of this part of the country."

I returned this answer to my father, and sent my man *George* into *England* to order that regiment, and made him quarter-master; I sent blank commissions for the officers, signed by the King, to be filled up as my father should think fit; and when I had the King's order for the commissions, the secretary told me I must go back to the King with them. I went accordingly, who opening the packet, laid all the commissions but one upon a table before him, and bade me take them, and keeping that one still in his hand, "Now (says he) you are one of my soldiers," and therewith gave me a commission,

sion, as colonel of horse in present pay. It took it kneeling, and in an humble manner thanked his Majesty. "But (says the King) there is one article of war I expect of you more than of others." "Your Majesty can expect nothing of me which I shall not willingly comply with (said I) as soon as I have the honour to understand what it is." "Why it is, (says the King) that you shall never fight but when you have orders; for I shall not be willing to lose my colonel before I have the regiment." "I shall be ready at all times, Sir, (returned I) to obey your Majesty's commands."

I sent my man express with the King's answer, and the commission to my father, who had the regiment completed in less than two months, and six of the officers with a list of the rest came away to me, whom I presented to his Majesty when he lay before *Neurenburg*, where they kissed his hand.

One of the captains offered to bring the whole regiment travelling as private men to the army in six weeks time, and either to transport their equipage, or buy it in *Germany*; but it was thought impracticable: however, I had so many came in that manner that I had a complete troop always about me, and obtained the King's order to muster them as a troop.

On the 8th of *March* the King decamped, and marching up the river *Main*, bent his course directly for *Bavaria*, taking several small places by the way, and expecting to engage with *Tilly*, who he thought would dispute his entrance into *Bavaria*,

Bavaria, kept his army together; but *Tilly* finding himself too weak to encounter him, turned away, and leaving *Bavaria* open to the King, marched into the *Upper Palatinate*. The King finding the country clear of the *Imperialists*, comes to *Norimberg*, made his entrance into that city the 21st of *March*, and being nobly treated by the citizens, he continued his march into *Bavaria*; and on the 26th sat down before *Donawert*. The town was taken next day by storm, so swift were the conquests of this invincible captain. Sir *John Hepburn* at the head of the *English* and *Scots* volunteers, entered the town first, and cut all the garrison to pieces, except such as escaped over the bridge.

I had no share in the business of *Donawert*, being now among the horse, but I was posted on the roads with five troops of horse, where we picked up a great many stragglers of the garrison, whom we made prisoners of war.—It is observable, that this town of *Donawert* was a very strong place and well fortified, yet such expedition did the King make, and such resolution did he use in his first attacks, that he carried the town without putting himself to the trouble of formal approaches; it was generally his way when he came before any town with a design to besiege it, not to encamp at a distance and begin his trenches a great way off, but bring his men immediately within half musquet-shot of the place, there getting under the best cover he could, would immediately begin his batteries and trenches before their faces; and if there was
any

any place possible to be attacked, he would set to storming immediately: by this resolute way of coming on, he carried many a town in the first heat of his men, which would have held out many days against a more regular siege.

This march of the King broke all *Tilly's* measures, for now was he obliged to face about and leaving the *Upper Palatinate*, to come to the assistance of the Duke of *Bavaria*; for the King being 20000 strong, beside 10000 foot and 4000 horse and dragoons which joined him from the *Duringer Wald*, was resolved to ruin the Duke, who now lay open to him, and was the most powerful and inveterate enemy of the protestants in the empire.

Tilly was now joined with the Duke of *Bavaria*, and might together make about 22000 men, and in order to keep the *Swedes* out of the country of *Bavaria*, had planted themselves along the banks of the river *Lech*, which run on the edge of the Duke's territories; and having fortified the other side of the river, and planted his cannon for several miles at all the convenient places on the river, resolved to dispute the King's passage.

I shall be the longer in relating this account of the *Lech*, being esteemed in those days as great an action as any battle or siege of that age, and particularly famous for the disaster of the gallant old General *Tilly*; and for that I can be more particular in it than other accounts, having been an eye-witness to every part.

The King being truly informed of the disposition

sition of the *Bavarian* army, was once of the mind to have left the banks of the *Lech*, have repassed the *Danube*, and so setting down before *Ingolstat*, the Duke's capital city, by the taking that strong town to have made his entrance into *Bavaria*, and the conquest of such a fortress, one entire action ; but the strength of the place and the difficulty of maintaining his leaguer in an enemy's country, while *Tilly* was so strong in the field, diverted him from that design ; he therefore concluded that *Tilly* was first to be beaten out of the country, and then the siege of *Ingolstat* would be the easier.

Whereupon, the King resolved to go and view the situation of the enemy ; his Majesty went out the 2d of *April* with a strong party of horse, which I had the honour to command ; we marched as near as we could to the banks of the river, not to be too much exposed to the enemy's cannon, and having gained a little height, where the whole course of the river might be seen the King halted, and commanded to draw up. His Majesty alighted, and calling me to him, examined every reach and turning of the river by his glass, but finding it run a long and almost a straight course, he could find no place that he liked, but at last turning himself north, and looking down the stream, he found the river fetching a long reach, doubles short upon itself, making a round and very narrow point, " There's a point will do our business, (says the King) and if the ground be good I will pass there, let *Tilly* do his worst."

He

He immediately ordered a small party of horse to view the ground, and to bring him word particularly how high the bank was on each side and at the point; and he shall have 50 dollars, says the King, that will bring me word how deep the water is. I asked his Majesty leave to let me go, which he would by no means allow; but as the party were drawing out, a sergeant of dragoons told the King, if he pleased to let him go disguised as a boor, he would bring him an account of every thing he desired. The King liked the motion very well, and the fellow being well acquainted with the country, puts on a ploughman's habit, and went away immediately with a long poll upon his shoulder; the horse lay all this while in the woods, and the King stood undiscerned by the enemy on the little hill aforesaid. The dragoon with his long poll comes down boldly to the bank of the river, and calling to the centinels which Tilly had placed on the other bank, talked with them, asked if they could not help him over the river, and pretended he wanted to come to them; at last, being come to the point where, as I said, the river makes a short turn, he stands parlying with them a great while, and sometimes pretended to wade over, he puts his long poll into the water, then finding it pretty shallow, pulls off his hose and goes in, still thrusting his poll in before him, till being got up to the middle, he could reach beyond him, where it was too deep, and so shaking his head, comes back again. The soldiers on the other side laughing at

him; asked him if he could swim? He said

Why you fool you, says one of the centi-
 , the channel of the river is 20 feet deep.
 v do you know that, says the dragoon. Why
 engineer, says he, measured it yesterday.
 s was what he wanted, but not yet fully sa-
 ed; ay, but, says he, may be it may not be
 broad, and if one of you would wade in to
 t me till I could reach you with my poll,
 ould give him half a ducat to pull me over,
 innocent way of his discourse so deluded
 soldiers, that one of them immediately strips
 goes in up to the shoulders, and our dragoon
 in on this side to meet him; but the stream
 the other soldier away, and he being a good
 nmer, came over to this side. The dragoon
 then in a great deal of pain for fear of be-
 discovered, and was once going to kill the
 ow, and make off; but at last resolved to
 y on the humour, and having entertained
 man with a tale of a tub, about the *Swedes*
 ing his oats, the fellow being cold wanted
 e gone, and he as willing to be rid of him,
 ended to be very sorry he could not get over
 river, and so makes off.

y this, however, he learned both the depth
 breadth of the channel, the bottom and na-
 of both shores, and every thing the King
 ted to know; we could see him from the
 by our glasses very plain, and could see the
 ier naked with him: he is a fool, says the
 g, he does not kill the fellow and run off;
 when the dragoon told his tale, the King

P

was

was extremely well satisfied with him; gave him 100 dollars, and made him a quarter-master to a troop of cuirassiers.

The King having farther examined the dragoon, he gave him a very distinct account of the ground on this side, which he found to be higher than the enemy's by 10 or 12 feet, and a hard gravel.—Hereupon the King resolves to pass there, and in order to it gives, himself, particular directions for such a bridge as I believe never army passed a river on before or since.

His bridge was only loose planks laid upon large tressels in the same homely manner I have seen bricklayers raise a low scaffold to build a brick wall; the tressels were made higher than one another to answer to the river as it became deeper or shallower, and was all framed and fitted before any appearance was made of attempting to pass.—When all were ready the King brings his army down to the bank of the river, and plants his cannon as the enemy had done, some here and some there, to amuse them.

At night, *April* 4th, the King commanded about 2000 men to march to the point, and to throw up a trench on either side, and quite round it with a battery of six pieces of cannon at each end, beside three small mounts, one at the point and one at each side, which had each two pieces upon them. This work was begun so briskly, and so well carried on, the King firing all night from the other parts of the river, that by daylight all the batteries at the new work were mounted, the trench lined with 2000 musketeers,

teers, and all the utensils of the bridge lay ready to be put together.

Now the *Imperialists* discovered the design, but it was too late to hinder it, the musqueteers in the great trench, and the five new batteries, made such continual fire that the other bank, which, as before, lay 12 feet below them, was too hot for the *Imperialists*; whereupon *Tilly*, to be provided for the King at his coming over, falls to work in a wood right against the point, and raises a great battery for 20 pieces of cannon, with a breast-work, or line, as near the river as he could, to cover his men, thinking that when the King had built his bridge he might easily beat it down with his cannon.

But the King had doubly prevented him, first by laying his bridge so low that none of *Tilly's* shot could hurt it; for the bridge lay not above half a foot above the water's surface, by which means the King, who in that shewed himself an excellent engineer, had secured it from any batteries being made within the land, and the angle of the bank secured it from the remoter batteries, on the other side, and the continual fire of the cannon and small shot, beat the *Imperialists* from their station just against it, they having no works to cover them.

And in the second place, to secure his passage he sent over about 200 men, and after that 200 more, who had orders to cast up a large ravelin on the other bank, just where he designed to land his bridge; this was done with such expedition too, that it was finished before night,
and

and in a condition to receive all the shot of *Tilly's* great battery, and effectually covered his bridge. While this was doing the King on his side lays over his bridge: Both sides wrought hard all day and all night, as if the spade, not the sword, had been to decide the controversy, and that he had got the victory whose trenches and batteries were first ready; in the mean time = the cannon and musquet bullets flew like hail, = and made the service so hot, that both sides had enough to do to make their men stand to their work; the King in the hottest of it, animated his men by his presence, and *Tilly*, to give him his due, did the same; for the execution was so great, and so many officers killed, General *Attringer* wounded, and two serjeant-majors killed, that at last *Tilly* himself was obliged to be exposed, and to come up to the very face of our line to encourage his men, and give his necessary orders.

And here about one o'clock, much about the time that the King's bridge and works were finished, and just as they said he had ordered to fall on upon our ravelin with 3000 foot, was the brave old *Tilly* slain with a musquet bullet in the thigh; he was carried off to *Ingolstat*, and lived some days after, but died of the wound the same day that the King had his horse shot under him at the siege of that town.

We made no question of passing the river here, having brought every thing so forward, and with such extraordinary success, but we should have found it a very hot piece of work if

Tilly

Tilly had lived one day more; and if I may give my opinion of it, having seen *Tilly's* battery and breast-work, in the face of which we must have passed the river, I must say, that whenever we had marched, if *Tilly* had fallen in with his horse and foot, placed in that trench, the whole army would have passed as much in danger as in the face of a strong town in the storming a counterescarp. The King himself, when he saw with what judgment *Tilly* had prepared his works, and what danger he must have run, would often say, that day's success was every way equal to the victory of *Leipsick*.

Tilly being hurt and carried off, as if the soul of the army had been lost, they began to draw off; the Duke of *Bavaria* took horse and rode away as if he had fled out of battle for life.

The other generals, with a little more caution, as well as courage, drew off by degrees, sending their cannons and baggage away first, and leaving some to continue firing on the bank of the river to conceal their retreat; the river preventing any intelligence, we knew nothing of the disaster befallen them; and the King, who looked for blows, having finished his bridge and ravelin, ordered to run a line with palisades to take in more ground on the bank of the river, to cover the first troops he should send over: this being finished the same night, the King sends over a party of his guards to relieve the men who were in the ravelin, and commanded 600 musqueteers to man the new line out of the *Scots* brigade.

Early

Early in the morning a small party of Scots, commanded by one Captain *Forbes*, of my Lord *Rea's* regiment, were sent out to learn something of the enemy, the King observing they had not fired all night; and while this party were abroad the army stood in battalia; and my old friend Sir *John Hepburn*, whom of all the men the King most depended upon for any desperate service, was ordered to pass the bridge with his brigade, and to draw up without the line, with command to advance as he found the horse who were to second him came over.

Sir *John* being passed without the trench, meets Captain *Forbes* with some prisoners, and the good news of the enemy's retreat; he sends him directly to the King, who was by this time at the head of his army, in full battalia ready to follow his vanguard, expecting a hot day's work of it. Sir *John* sends messenger after messenger to the King, intreating him to give him orders to advance; but the King would not suffer him; for he was ever upon his guard, and would not venture a surprise; so the army continued on this side the *Lech* all day, and the next night. In the morning the King sent for me, and ordered me to draw out 300 horse, and a colonel with 600 horse, and another with 800 dragoons, and ordered us to enter the wood by three ways, but so as to be able to relieve one another; then ordered Sir *John Hepburn* with his brigade to advance to the edge of the wood to secure our retreat; and at the same time commanded another brigade of foot to pass the bridge

if necessary, to second Sir *John Hepburn*, so warily did this prudent general proceed.

We advanced with our horse into the *Bavarian* camp, which we found forsaken; the plunder of it was inconsiderable, for the exceeding caution the King had used gave them time to carry off all their baggage; we followed them three or four miles and returned to our camp.

I confess I was most diverted that day with viewing the works which *Tilly* had cast up, and must own again, that had he not been taken off, we had met with as desperate a piece of work as ever were attempted. The next day the rest of the cavalry came up to us, commanded by *Gustavus Horn*, and the King and the whole army followed; we advanced thro' the heart of *Bavaria*, took *Rain* at the first summons, and several other small towns, and sat down before *Ausburg*.

Ausburg, though a protestant city, had a popish *Bavarian* garrison in it of above 5000 men, commanded by a *Fugger*, a great family in *Bavaria*. The governor had posted several little parties as our scouts at the distance of two miles and a half, or three miles from the town. The King, at his coming up to this town, sends me with my little troop, and three companies of dragoons to beat in these out-scouts; the first party I light of were not above 16 men, who had made a small barricado cross the road, and stood resolutely upon their guard; I commanded the dragoons to alight and open the barricado, which while they resolutely performed, the 16 men

men gave them two vollies of their musquets, and through the enclosures made their retreat to a turnpike about a quarter of a mile farther. We past their first traverse, and coming up to the turnpike, I found it defended by 200 musqueteers : I prepared to attack them, sending word to the King how strong the enemy were, and desired some foot to be sent me. My dragoons fell on, and though the enemy made a very hot fire, had beat them from this post before 200 foot, which the King had sent me, had come up ; being joined with the foot, I followed the enemy, who retreated fighting, till they came under the cannon of a strong redoubt, where they drew up, and I could see another body of foot of about 300 join them out of the works ; upon which I halted, and considering I was in view of the town, and a great way from the army, I faced about and began to march off — as we marched I found the enemy followed, but kept at a distance, as if they only designed to observe me ; I had not marched far, before I heard a volly of small shot, answered by two or three more, which I presently apprehended to be at the turnpike, where I had left a small guard of 26 men, with a lieutenant. I immediately dispatched 100 dragoons to relieve my men, and secure my retreat, following myself as fast as the foot could march. The lieutenant sent me word back the post was taken by the enemy, and my men cut off ; upon this I doubled my pace, and when I came up I found it as the lieutenant said, for the post was taken and defended by

by 300 musqueteers and three troops of horse; by this time also I found the party in my rear made up towards me, so that I was like to be charged in a narrow place, both front and rear.

I saw there was no remedy but with all my force to fall upon the party before me, and so to break through before those from the town could come up with me; wherefore commanding my dragoons to alight, I ordered them to fall on upon the foot; their horse were drawn up in an inclosed field on one side of the road, a great ditch securing the other side, so that they thought if I charged the foot in front they would fall upon my flank, while those behind would charge my rear; and indeed had the other come in time, they had cut me off; my dragoons made three fair charges on their foot, but were received with so much resolution, and so brisk a fire, that they were beaten off and sixteen men killed: seeing them so rudely handled and the horse ready to fall in, I relieved them with 100 musqueteers, and they renewed the attack, at the same time with my troop of horse, flanked on both wings with 50 musqueteers, I faced their horse, but did not offer to charge them; the case grew now desperate, and the enemy behind were just at my heels with near 600 men; the captain who commanded the musqueteers and flanked my horse came up to me, says he, if we do not force this pass all will be lost; if you will draw out your troop and 20 of my foot, and fall in, I will engage to keep off the horse with the rest. With all my heart, replied I. Q Immediately

Immediately I wheeled off my troop, and a small party of the musqueteers followed me, and fell in with the dragoons and foot, who seeing the danger too, as well as I, fought like madmen; the foot at the turnpike were not able to hinder our breaking through, so we made our way out, killing about 150 of them, and put the rest into confusion.—But now I was in as great a difficulty as before how to fetch off my brave captain of foot, for they charged home upon him; he defended himself with extraordinary gallantry, having the benefit of piece of a hedge to cover him; but he lost half his men and was just upon the point of being defeated when the King, informed by a soldier that escaped from the turnpike, one of 26, had sent a party of 600 dragoons to bring me off; they came upon the spur, and join with me just as I had broke through the turnpike; the enemy's foot rallied behind their horse, and by this time their other party was come in, but seeing our relief they drew off together.

I lost above 100 men in these skirmishes, and killed them about 180; we secured the turnpike, and placed a company of foot there with 100 dragoons, and came back well beaten to the army. The King, to prevent such uncertain skirmishes, advanced the next day in view of the town, and according to his custom, sits down with his whole army within cannon-shot of their walls.

The King won this great city by force of words, for by two or three letters and messages
to

to and from the citizens, the town was gained, the garrison not daring to defend them against their wills. His Majesty made his public entrance into the city on the 14th of *April*, and receiving the compliments of the citizens, advanced immediately to *Ingelstat*, which is accounted, and really is the strongest town in all these parts.

There was a very strong garrison in it, and the Duke of *Bavaria* lay entrenched with his army under the walls of it, on the other side of the river. The King, who never loved long sieges, having reviewed the town, and brought his army within musquet-shot of it, called a council of war, where it was the King's opinion, in short, that the town would lose him more than it was worth, and therefore he resolved to raise the siege.

Here the King going to view the town had his horse shot with a cannon-bullet from the works, which tumbled the King and his horse over one another, that every body thought he had been killed, but he received no hurt at all; that very minute, as near as could be learnt, General *Tilly* died in the town of the shot he received on the bank of the *Lech*.

I was not in the camp when the King was hurt, for the king had sent almost all the horse and dragoons, under *Gustavus Horn*, to face the Duke of *Bavaria's* camp, and after that to plunder the country, which truly was a work the soldiers were glad of, for it was very seldom they had that liberty given them, and they made
very

very good use of it when it was ; for the country of *Bavaria* was rich and plentiful, having seen no enemy before during the whole war.

The army having left the siege of *Ingolstat*, proceeds to take in the rest of *Bavaria* ; Sir *John Hepburn* with three brigades of foot, and *Gustavus Horn* with 3000 horse and dragoons, went to the *Landshut*, and took it the same day ; the garrison were all horse, and gave us several camifadoes at our approach, in one of which I lost two of my troops, but when we had beat them into close quarters, they presently capitulated. The general got a great sum of money of the town beside a great many presents to the officers. From thence the King went on to *Munick*, the Duke of *Bavaria's* court ; some of the general officers would fain have had the plundering of the Duke's palace ; but the King was too generous, the city paid him 400000 dollars ; and the Duke's magazine was there seized, in which were 140 pieces of cannon, and small arms for above 20000 men. The great chamber of the Duke's rarities was preserved by the King's special order with a great deal of care. I expected to have staid here some time, and to have taken a very exact account of this curious laboratory ; but being commanded away, I had no time, and the fate of the war never gave me opportunity to see it again.—The *Imperialists* under the command of commissary *Ojla* had besieged *Bibrach*, an *Imperial* city not very well fortified, and the inhabitants being under the *Swedes* protection, defended themselves as well as they could, but were

were in great danger, and sent several expresses to the King for help.

The King immediately detaches a strong body of horse and foot, to relieve *Bibrach*, and would be the commander himself; I marched amongst the horse, but the *Imperialists* saved us the labour; for the news of the King's coming frightened away *Osta*, that he left *Bibrach*, and hardly looked behind him till he got up to the *Bodensee*, on the confines of *Switzerland*.

At our return from this expedition, the King had the first news of *Wallestein's* approach, who on the death of Count *Tilly*, being declared generalissimo of the Emperor's forces, had played the tyrant in *Bohemia*, and was now advancing with 60000 men, as they reported, to relieve the Duke of *Bavaria*.—The King, therefore, in order to be in a posture to receive this great general, resolves to quit *Bavaria*, and to expect him on the frontiers of *Franconia*; and because he knew the *Norembergers*, for their kindness to him, would be the first sacrifice, he resolved to defend that city against him whatever it cost.

Nevertheless he did not leave *Bavaria* without a defence; for on the one hand he left Sir *John Bannier* with 10000 men about *Ausberg*, and the Duke of *Saxe-weymar* with another like army about *Ulme* and *Meningen*, with orders so to direct their march, that they might join him upon any occasion in a few days.

We encamped about *Noremburg* the middle of June. The army, after so many detachments, were not above 19000 men. The *Imperial* army

my joined with the *Bavarian*, were not so numerous as were reported, but were really 6000. The King, not strong enough to fight yet, refused to say, was strong enough not to be forced to fight, formed his camp so under the cannon of *Noremburg*, that there was no besieging the town, but they must besiege him too; and he fortified his camp in so formidable a manner that *Wallestein* never durst attack him. On the 30th of *June*, *Wallestein's* troops appeared, and on the 5th of *July*, encamped close by the King and posted themselves not on the *Bavarian* side but between the King and his own friends of *Schwaben* and *Frankenland*, in order to intercept his provisions, and, as they thought, to starve him out of his camp.

Here they lay, to see who could subsist longest; the King was strong in horse, for we had full 8000 horse and dragoons in the army, and this gave us great advantage in the several skirmishes we had with the enemy. They had possession of the whole country, and had taken effectual care to furnish their army with provisions; their guards were placed in such excellent order, to secure their convoys, that their waggons went from stage to stage as quiet as in a time of peace, and were relieved every five miles by parties constantly posted on the road. And thus the *Imperial* general sat down by us, not doubting but he should force the King either to fight his way through, on very disadvantageous terms, or to rise for want of provisions, and leave the city of *Noremburg* a prey to his army; for

for he had vowed the destruction of the city, and to make it a second *Magdenburgh*.

But the King, who was not to be easily deceived, had countermined all *Wallestein's* design; he had passed his honour to the *Norembergers*, that he would not leave them, and they had undertaken to victual his army, and secure him from want, which they did so effectually, that he had no occasion to expose his troops to any hazard or fatigues for convoys or forage on any account whatever.

The city of *Noremberg* is a very rich and populous city; and the King being very sensible of their danger, had given his word for their defence: and when they, being terrified at the threats of the *Imperialists*, sent their deputies to beseech the King to take care of them, he sent them word, he would, and be besieged with them. They on the other hand laid in such stores of all sorts of provision, both for man and horse, that had *Wallestein* laid before it 6 months longer, there would have been no scarcity.—Every private house was a magazine, the camp was plentifully supplied with all manner of provisions, and the market always full, and as cheap as in times of peace. The magistrates were so careful, and preserved so excellent an order in the disposal of all sorts of provision, that no engrossing of corn could be practised; for the prices were every day directed at the town-house: and if any man offered to demand more for corn than the stated price, he could not sell, because at the town storehouse you might buy cheaper.
Here

Here are two instances of good and bad conduct: the city of *Magdenburgh* had been intreated by the King to settle funds, and raise money for their provision and security, and to have a sufficient garrison to defend them, but they made difficulties; either to raise men for themselves or to admit the King's troops to assist them, for fear of the charge of their maintenance; and this was the cause of the city's ruin.

The city of *Noremburg* opened their arms to receive the assistance offered by the *Swedes*, and their purses to defend their town and common cause, and this was the saving them absolutely from destruction. The rich burghers and magistrates kept open houses, where the officers of the army were always welcome; and the council of the city took such care of the poor, that there were no complaining nor disorders in the whole city. There is no doubt but it cost them a great deal of money; but I never saw a public charge borne with so much cheerfulness, nor managed with so much prudence and conduct in my life. The city fed above 50000 mouths every day, including their own poor, besides themselves; and yet the King had lain thus three months, and finding his armies longer in coming up than he expected, asked the burgrave how their magazines held out? He answered, they desired his Majesty not to hasten things for them, for they could maintain themselves and him 12 months longer, if there was occasion. This plenty kept both the army and city in good health, as well as in good heart; whereas no-
thing

thing was to be had of us but blows; for we fetched nothing from without our works, nor had no business without the line, but to interrupt the enemy.

The manner of the King's encampment deserves a particular chapter. He was a complete surveyor and master of fortification, not to be outdone by any. He had posted his army in the suburbs of the town, and drawn lines round the whole circumference; so that he begirt the whole city with his army; his works were large, the ditch deep, flanked with innumerable bastions, ravelins, horn-works, forts, redoubts, batteries and palisadoes, the incessant work of 8000 men for about fourteen days; besides that the King was adding something or other to it every day; and the very posture of his camp was enough to tell a bigger army than *Wallenstein's*, he was not to be assaulted in his trenches.

The King's design appeared chiefly to be the preservation of the city; but that was not all. He had three armies acting abroad in three several places; viz. *Gustavus Horn* was on the *Mosel*, the Chancellor *Oxenstern* about *Mentz*, *Cologne* and the *Rhine*, Duke *William*, with Duke *Bernard* and General *Bannier*, in *Bavaria*. And though he designed they should all join him, and had wrote to them for that purpose, yet he did not hasten them; knowing that while he kept the main army at bay about *Noremburg*, they would without opposition reduce those several countries they were acting in to his power. This occasioned his lying longer in the camp at

R. *Noremburg*

Noremberg, than he would have done, and al his giving the *Imperialists* so many alarms by his strong parties of horse, of which he was well provided, that they might not be able to make any considerable detachments for the relief of their friends : and here he shewed his mastery in the war ; for by this means his conquest went on as effectually as if he had been abroad himself.

In the mean time, it was not to be expected two such armies should lie near so long without some action. The *Imperial* army being master of the field, laid the country for 20 miles round *Noremberg* in a manner desolate ; what the inhabitants could carry away had been before secured in such strong towns as had garrisons protect them, and what was left, the hungry *Crabats* devoured, or set on fire ; but sometimes they were met with by our men, who often paid them home for it. There had passed several rencounters between our parties and theirs ; as it falls out in such cases, sometimes one side sometimes the other, got the better ; but I have observed there never was any Party sent out but by the King's special appointment, but always came home with victory.

The first considerable attempt, as I remember was made on a convoy of ammunition. The party sent out were commanded by a *Saxon* colonel, and consisted of 1000 horse and 500 dragoons, who burnt above 600 waggons, loaded with ammunition and stores for the army, besides taking about 2000 muskets which they brought back to the army. The

The latter end of *July* the King received advice, that the *Imperialists* had formed a magazine for provisions at a town called *Freynstat*, 20 miles from *Noremburg*. Hither all the booty and contributions raised in the *Upper Palatinate*, and parts adjacent, were brought and laid up as in a place of security, a garrison of 600 men being placed to defend it; and when a quantity of provision was got together, convoys were appointed to fetch it off.

The King resolved, if possible, to take or destroy this magazine; and sending for Colonel *Dubalt*, a *Swede*, a man of extraordinary conduct, he tells him his design; and also, that he must be the instrument to put it in execution, and ordered him to take what forces he thought convenient. The colonel, who knew the town very well, and the country about it, told his Majesty, he would attempt it with all his heart; but he was afraid it would require some foot to make the attack; but we cannot stay for that, says the King, you must then take some dragoons with you, and immediately the King called for me. I was just coming up the stairs, as the page was come out to enquire for me; so I immediately went to the King. Here is a piece of hot work for you, says his Majesty, *Dubalt* will tell it you; go together and contrive it.

We immediately withdrew, and the colonel told me the design, and what the King and he had discoursed; that in his opinion foot would be wanted: but the King had declared there was no time for the foot to march, and had proposed

posed dragoons. I told him, I thought dragoons might do as well; so we agreed to take 1600 horse and 400 dragoons. The King, impatient in his design, came into the room to us, to know what we had resolved on, approved our measures, gave us orders immediately; and turning to me, you shall command the dragoons, says the King, but *Dubalt* must be general in this case, for he knows the country. Your Majesty, said I, shall be always served by me in any figure you please. The King wished us good speed, and hurried us away the same afternoon, in order to come to the place in time. We marched slowly on because of the carriages we had with us, and came to *Freyndstat* about one o'clock at night, perfectly undiscovered; the guards were so negligent, that we came to the very port before they had notice of us, and a sergeant with 12 dragoons thrust in upon the out-centinels, and killed them without noise.

Ladders were immediately placed to the half-moon which defended the gate, and the dragoons mounted and carried it in a trice, about 28 men being cut in pieces within. As soon as the ravelin was taken, they burst open the gate, at which I entered at the head of 200 dragoons, and seized the draw-bridge. By this time the town were in alarm, and the drums beat to arms, but it was too late; for by the help of a petard we broke open the gate, and entered the town. The garrison made an obstinate fight for about half an hour, but our men being all in, and three troops of horse dismounted coming

ing to our assistance with their carabines, the town was entirely mastered by three o'clock, and guards set to prevent any body running to give notice to the enemy. There were about 200 of the garrison killed, and the rest taken prisoners. The town being thus secured, the gates were opened, and Colonel *Dubalt* came in with the horse.

The guards being set, we entered the magazine, where we found an incredible quantity of all sorts of provisions. There were 150 tons of bread, 8000 sacks of meal, 4000 sacks of oats, and of other provisions in proportion. We caused as much of it as could be loaded to be brought away in such waggons and carriages as we found, and set the rest on fire, town and all; we staid by it till we saw it past a possibility of being saved, and then drew off with 800 waggons, which we found in the place, most of which we loaded with bread, meal and oats.— While we were doing this we sent a party of dragoons into the fields, who met us again as we came out, with about 1000 head of black cattle, beside sheep.

Our next care was to bring this booty home without meeting with the enemy; to secure which, the colonel immediately dispatched an express to the King, to let him know of our success, and to desire a detachment might be made to secure our retreat, being charged with so much plunder.

And it was no more than need; for though we had used all the diligence possible to prevent any

any notice, yet somebody more forward than ordinary, had escaped away and carried news of it to the *Imperial* army. The general upon this bad news detaches Major-general *Sparr*, with a body of 6000 men to cut off our retreat. The King, who had notice of this detachment, marches out in person with 3000 men to wait upon General *Sparr*. All this was the account of one day; the King met General *Sparr* at the moment when his troops were divided, fell upon them, routed one part of them, and the rest in a few hours after; killed them a 1000 men, and took the general prisoner.—In the interval of this action, we came safe to the camp with our booty, which was very considerable, and would have supplied our whole army for a month. Thus we feasted at the enemy's cost, and beat them into the bargain.

The King gave all the live cattle to the *Norrembergers*, who, though they had really no want of provisions, yet fresh meat was not so plentiful as such provisions as were stored up in vessels and laid by.

After this skirmish, we had the country more at command than before, and daily fetched in fresh provisions and forage from the fields.—The two armies had now lain a long time in sight of one another, and daily skirmishes had considerably weakened them; the King beginning to be impatient, hastened the advancement of his friends to join him, in which they were not backward; but having drawn together their forces from several parts, and all joined the
Chancellor

Chancellor *Oxenstern*, news came the 15th of *August*, that they were in full march to join us; and being come to a small town called *Brock*, the King went out of the camp with about 1000 horse to view them. I went along with the horse, and the 21st of *August* saw the review of all the armies together, which were 30000 men in extraordinary equipage, old soldiers, and commanded by officers of the greatest conduct and experience in the world. There was the rich Chancellor of *Sweden* who commanded as general; *Gustavus Horn* and *John Bannier*, both *Swedes* and old generals; Duke *William* and Duke *Bernard* of *Weymar*, the Landgrave of *Hesse Cassel*, the Palatine of *Birkenfeld*, and abundance of Princes and Lords of the empire.

The armies being joined, the King who was now a match for *Wallestein*, quits his camp and draws up in battalia before the *Imperial* trenches, but the scene was changed, *Wallestein* was no more able to fight now than the King was before; but keeping within his trenches, stood upon his guard. The King coming up close to his works, plants batteries, and cannonaded him in his very camp.

The *Imperialists* finding the King press upon them, retreated into a woody country about three leagues, and taking possession of an old ruined castle, posted their army behind it. This old castle they fortified, and placed a very strong guard there. The King having viewed the place, though it was a very strong post, resolved to attack it with the whole right wing. The
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attack was made with a great deal of order and resolution, the King leading the first party on with sword in hand, and the fight was maintained with the utmost gallantry and obstinacy all the day and the next night too; for the cannon and musquet never gave over till the morning; but the *Imperialists* having the advantage of the hill, of their works and batteries, and being continually relieved, and the *Swedes* naked, without cannon or works, the post was maintained; and the King finding it would cost him too much blood, drew off in the morning.

This was the famous fight of *Attemburgh*, where the *Imperialists* boasted to have shewn the world the King of *Sweden* was not invincible. They call it the victory at *Attemburgh*; it is true, the King failed in his attempt of carrying their works, but there was so little of a victory in it, that the *Imperial* general thought fit not to venture a second brush, but to draw off their army as soon as they could to a safer quarter.

I had no share in this attack, very few of the horse being in the action; but my companion, who was always among the *Scots* volunteers was wounded and taken prisoner by the enemy.— They used him very civilly, and the King and *Wallestein* straining courtesies with one another, his Majesty released Major-general *Sparr* without ransom, and the *Imperial* general sent home Colonel *Tortenson*, a *Swede*, and sixteen volunteer gentlemen who were taken in the heat of the action, among whom my captain was one.—The King lay fourteen days facing the *Impe-*
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his army, and using all the stratagems possible to bring them to a battle, but to no purpose; during which time, we had parties continually out, and very often skirmishes with the enemy.

I had a command of one of these parties in an adventure, wherein I got no booty, nor much honour. The King had received advice of a convoy of provisions which were to come to the enemy's camp from the *Upper Palatinate*, and having a great mind to surprise them, he commanded us to way-lay them with 1200 horse and 800 dragoons. I had exact directions given me of the way they were to come, and posting my horse in a village a little out of the road, I lay with my dragoons in a wood, by which they were to pass by break of day. The enemy appeared with their convoy, and being very wary, their out-scouts discovered us in the wood, and fired upon the centinel I had posted in a tree at the entrance of the wood. Finding myself discovered I would have retreated to the village where my horse were posted, but in a moment the wood was skirted with the enemy's horse, and a thousand commanded musqueteers advanced to beat me out. In this pickle I sent away three messengers one after another for the horse, who were within two miles of me, to advance to my relief; but all my messengers fell into the enemy's hands. 400 of my dragoons on foot, whom I had placed at a little distance before me, stood to their work, and beat off two charges of the enemy's foot with some loss on both sides: mean time 200 of my men faced

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about, and rushing out of the wood, broke thro' the enemy's horse who stood to watch our coming out. I confess I was exceedingly surprised at it, thinking the fellows had done it to make their escape, or otherwise gone over to the enemy; and my men were so discouraged at it, that they began to look about which way to run to save themselves, and were just upon the point of disbanding to shift for themselves, when one of the captains called to me aloud to beat a parle and treat. I made no answer, but, as if I had not heard him, immediately gave the word for all the captains to come together. The consultation was but short, for the musqueteers were advancing to a third charge, with numbers which we were not likely to deal with. In short, we resolved to beat a parle, and demand quarter, for that was all we was to expect; when on a sudden the body of horse I had posted in the village, being directed by the noise, had advanced to relieve me, if they saw occasion, and had met the 200 dragoons who guided them directly to the spot where they had broke through, and all together fell upon the horse of the enemy who were posted on that side, and mastering them before they could be relieved, cut them all to pieces and brought me off. Under the shelter of this party, we made good our retreat to the village, but we lost above 300 men, and were glad to make off from the village too, for the enemy were very much too strong for us.

Returning thence towards the camp, we fell foul with 200 *Crabats* who had been upon the plundering

plundering account. We made ourselves some amends upon them for our former loss, for we shewed them no mercy ; but our misfortunes were not ended, for we had but just dispatched those *Grabats* when we fell in with 3000 *Imperial* horse, who, on the expectation of the aforesaid convoy, were sent out to secure them.

All I could do, could not persuade my men to stand their ground against this party ; so that finding they would run away in confusion, I agreed to make off, and facing to the right, we went over a large common a full trot, till at last fear, which always increases in a flight, brought us to a plain run-away, the enemy at our heels. I must confess I was never so mortified in my life ; it was to no purpose to turn head, no man would stand by us, we run for life, and a great many were left by the way who were either wounded by the enemy's shot, or else could not keep pace with us.

At last having got over the common, which was near two miles, we came to a lane ; one of our captains, a *Saxon* by country, and a gentleman of a good fortune, alighted at the entrance of the lane, and with a bold heart faced about, shot his own horse, and called his men to stand by him and defend the lane. Some of his men halted, and we rallied about 600 men which we posted as well as we could, to defend the pass ; but the enemy charged us with great fury. The *Saxon* gentleman, after defending himself with great gallantry and refusing quarter, was killed upon the spot. A *German* dragoon as I thought

thought him, gave me a rude blow with the stock of his piece on the side of my head, and was just going to repeat it when one of my men shot him dead. I was so stunned with the blow that I knew nothing; but recovering, I found myself in the hands of two of the enemy's officers, who offered me quarter, which I accepted; and indeed, to give them their due, they used me very civilly. Thus this whole party was defeated, and not above 500 men got safe to the army, nor would half the number escaped, had not the *Saxon* captain made so bold stand at the head of the lane.

Several other parties of the King's army revenged our quarrel, and paid them home for it; but I had a particular loss in this defeat, that I never saw the King after; for though his Majesty sent a trumpet to reclaim us as prisoners the very next day, yet I was not delivered; for scruple happening about exchanging, till after the battle of *Lutzen*, where that gallant Prince lost his life.

The *Imperial* army rose from the camp about eight or ten days after the King had removed, and I was carried prisoner in the army till they sat down to the siege of *Coburg Castle*, and then was left with other prisoners of war, in the custody of Colonel *Spezuter*, in a small castle near the camp called *Newstead*. Here we continued indifferently well treated, but could learn nothing of what action the armies were upon, till the Duke of *Friedland* having been beaten off from the castle of *Coburg*, marched into *Saxony*,

pay, and the prisoners were sent for into the camp, as was said, in order to be exchanged.

I came into the *Imperial* leaguer at the siege of *Leipsick*, and within three days after, the city was surrendered, and I got liberty to lodge at my old quarters in the town upon my parole.

The King of *Sweden* was at the heels of the *Imperialists*; for finding *Wallestein* resolved to win the Elector of *Saxony*, the King had collected as much of his divided army as he could, and came upon him just as he was going to besiege *Torgau*.

But it is not my design to write a history of any more of these wars than I were actually concerned in, I shall only note, that upon the King's approach, *Wallestein* halted, and likewise called all his troops together, for he apprehended the King would fall on him; and we that were prisoners, fancied the *Imperial* soldiers went unwillingly out; for the very name of the King of *Sweden* was become terrible to them. In short, they drew all their soldiers of the garrison they could spare, out of *Leipsick*, sent for *Papenheim* again, who was gone but three days before with 6000 men on a private expedition. On the 10th of *November*, the armies met on the plains of *Lutzen*; and a long and bloody battle was fought. The *Imperialists* were entirely routed and beaten, 12000 slain upon the spot, their cannon, baggage and 2000 prisoners taken; but the King of *Sweden* lost his life, being killed at the head of his troops in the beginning of the fight.

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It is impossible to describe the consternation the death of this conquering King struck up all the Princes of *Germany*; the grief for him exceeded all manner of human sorrow. The people looked upon themselves as ruined and swallowed up; two-thirds of the inhabitants of all *Germany*, put themselves into mourning for him; when the ministers mentioned him in their sermons or prayers, whole congregations would burst into tears. The Elector of *Saxony* was utterly inconsolable, and would for several days walk about his palace like a distracted man, crying the Saviour of *Germany* was lost, the refuge of abused Princes was gone; the soul of war was dead, and from that hour was so hopeless of out-living it, that he sought to make peace with the Emperor.

Three days after this mournful victory, the Saxons recovered the town of *Leipsick* by stratagem. The Duke of *Saxony's* forces lay at *Torgau*, and perceiving the confusion of the *Imperialists* were in at the news of the overthrow of the army, they resolved to attempt the recovery of the town. They sent about 20 scattering troopers who pretended to be *Imperialists* fled from the battle, were let in one by one, and still as they came in, they staid at the court of guard in the port, entertained the soldiers with discourse above the fight, and how they escaped, and the like, till the whole number being got in at a watch word, they fell on the guard, and cut them all in pieces; and immediately opening the gate to three troops of *Saxon* horse, the town was taken in a moment. It

It was a welcome surprise to me, for I was then at liberty of course ; and the war being now on another foot, as I thought, and the King no more, I resolved to quit the service.— I had sent my man, as I have already noted, into *England*, in order to bring over the troops my father had raised for the King of *Sweden*. He executed his commission so well, that he landed with five troops at *Empden*, in very good condition ; and orders were sent them by the King, to join the Duke of *Lunenburg's* army ; which they did at the siege of *Boxtude*, in the *Lower Saxony*. Here by long and very sharp service, they were most of them cut off, and though they were several times recruited, yet I understood there were not three full troops left.

The Duke of *Saxe-weymar*, a gentleman of great courage, had the command of the army after the King's death, and managed it with so much prudence, that all things were in as much order as could be expected, after so great a loss ; for the *Imperialists* were every where beaten, nor did *Wallestein* ever make any advantage of the King's death.

I waited on him at *Hailbron*, whither he was gone to meet the great Chancellor of *Sweden*, where I paid him my respects, and desired he would bestow the remainder of my regiment on my friend, the captain, which he did with all the civility and readiness imaginable : so I took my leave of him, and prepared to come into *England*.

I shall only note this, that at this diet, the
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protestant Princes of the empire renewed the league with one another, and with the crown of *Sweden*, and came to several regulations and conclusions for carrying on the war, which they afterward prosecuted under the direction of the Chancellor of *Sweden*. But it was not the want of a little difficulty, nor short time; but having been persuaded to continue almost two years afterward at *Frankfort*, *Hailbron*, and thereabouts by the particular friendship of that noble, wise man, and extraordinary consequence, sufficient for a history, if that were my design.

Particularly, I had the happiness to be present at, and have some concern in the treaty for the restoring the posterity of the truly noble *Palatine* King of *Bohemia*. King *James* of *England*, had indeed too much neglected the whole family; and I may say with authority enough, from my own knowledge of affairs, had nothing been done for them but what was from *England*, that family had remained desolate and forsaken to this day.

But that glorious King, whom I can never mention without some remark of his extraordinary merit, had left particular instructions with his chancellor to rescue the *Palatinate* to its rightful lord, as a proof of his design to restore the liberty of *Germany*, and reinstate the oppressed Princes who were subjected to the tyranny of the house of *Austria*.

Pursuant to this resolution, the chancellor proceeded very much like a man of honour; and though the King of *Bohemia* was dead a little before,

before, yet he carefully managed the treaty, answered the objections of several Princes, who, in the general ruin of the family, had reaped private advantages, settled the capitulations for the quota of contributions, very much for their advantage, and fully reinstalled Prince *Charles* in the possession of all his dominions in the *Lower Palatinate*, which afterward were confirmed to him and his posterity by the peace of *West-Phalia*, where all those bloody wars were finished in a peace, which has since been the foundation of the protestants liberty, and the best security of the whole empire.

I spent two years rather in wandering up and down, than travelling; for though I had no mind to serve, yet I could not find in my heart to leave *Germany*; and I had obtained some such very close intimacies with the general officers, that I was often in the army, and sometimes they did me the honour to bring me into their councils of war.

Particularly, at that eminent council before the battle of *Nordlingen*, I was invited to the council of war, both by the Duke *Bernard* of *Weymar* and *Gustavus Horn*. They were generals of equal worth, and their courage and experience had been so well, and so often tried, that more than ordinary regard was always paid to what they said. Duke *Bernard* was indeed the younger man, and *Gustavus* too had served longer under our great master, the King, but it was hard to judge which was the better general, as they both had had sufficient experience

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and shewn undeniable proofs both of their bravery and conduct.

I am obliged, in the course of my relation, so often to mention the very great respect I received from these great men, that it makes me sometimes jealous, lest the reader may think I affect it as vanity. The truth is, and I am ready to confess the honours I received, upon all occasions, from persons of such worth, and who had such an eminent share in the greatest actions of that age, very much pleased me; and particularly, as they gave me opportunities of seeing every thing that were doing on the whole stage of war: being under no command, but at liberty to rove about, I could come to no *Swedish* garrison or party, but sending my name to the commanding officer I could have the word sent me; and if I came into the army, I was often treated as I then was at the famous battle of *Nordlingen*.

But I must say, that I always looked upon this particular respect to be the effect of more than ordinary regard the great King of *Sweden* always shewed me, rather than any merit of my own; and the veneration they all had for his memory, made them continue to shew me all the marks of a suitable esteem.

But to return to the council of war, the great, and indeed the only question before us was, "shall we give battle to the *Imperialists* or not?" *Gustavus Horn* was against it, and gave, as I thought, the most invincible arguments against a battle that reason could dictate.—First, they
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were weaker than the enemy by above 5000 men.—Secondly, The Cardinal Infant of *Spain*, who was in the *Imperial* army with 8000 men, was but then *en passant*, being going from *Italy* to *Flanders*, to take upon him the government of the *Low Countries*; and if he saw no prospect of immediate action, would be gone in a few days.—Thirdly, They had two reinforcements, one of 5000 men, under command of Colonel *Bratz*, and another 7000 under the Rhinegrave, who were at hand, the last within three days march.—Lastly, They had already saved their honour, as they had put 600 foot into the town of *Nordlingen*, in the face of the enemy's army, and consequently the town might hold out some days longer.

Fate, rather than reason, certainly guided the rest of the generals against such arguments as these. Duke *Barnard* and almost all the generals were for fighting, alledging, the affront it would be to the *Swedish* reputation, to see their friends in the town lost before their faces.

Gustavus Horn stood stiff to his cautious advice, and was against it; and I thought the *Baron D'Offkirk* treated him a little indecently; for being very warm in the matter, he told them, "That if *Gustavus Adolphus* had been governed by such cowardly council, he had never been conqueror of half *Germany* in two years." "No, (replied old General *Horn*, very smartly) but had he been now alive to have testified for me, I was never taken by him for a coward; and yet (says he) the King was never for a victory with a hazard, when he could have it without."

I was asked my opinion, which I would have declined, being in no commission; but they pressed me to speak. I told them, I was for staying at least till the Rhinegrave came up; who at least might, if expresses were sent to hasten him, be up with us in 24 hours. But *Offkirk* could not hold his passion, and had he not been over-ruled, he would have almost quarrelled with Marshal *Horn*. Upon which the old general, not to foment him, with a great deal of mildness stood up, and spoke thus:—“Come, *Offkirk*, (says he) I’ll submit my opinion to you and the majority of our fellow soldiers; we will fight, but, believe me, we shall have our hands full.”

The resolution thus taken, they attacked the *Imperial* army. I must confess the councils of this day seemed as confused as the resolutions of the night.—Duke *Bernard* was to lead the van of the left wing, and to post himself upon a hill which was on the enemy’s right, without their entrenchments; so that having secured that post, they might level their cannon upon the foot who stood behind the lines, and relieved the town at pleasure. He marched accordingly by break of day, and falling upon eight regiments of foot with great fury, which were posted at the foot of the hill, and presently routed them and made himself master of the post. Flushed with such success, he never regarded his own concerted measures of stopping there, and possessing what he had got, but pushes on and falls in with the main body of the enemy’s army.

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While this was doing, *Gustavus Horn* attacks another post on a hill, where the *Spaniards* had posted and lodged themselves behind some works they had cast up on the side of the hill ; here they defended themselves with extreme obstinacy for five hours, and at last obliged the *Swedes* to give it over with loss. This extraordinary gallantry of the *Spaniards* was certainly the saving of the *Imperial* army ; for Duke *Bernard* having all this while resisted the frequent charges of the *Imperialists*, and borne the weight of two-thirds of their army, was not able to stand any longer, but sending one messenger in the neck of another to *Gustavus Horn* for more foot, he finding he could not carry his point, had given it over, and was in full march to second the Duke. But now it was too late ; for the King of *Hungary* seeing the Duke's men as it were wavering, and having notice of *Horn's* wheeling about to second him, falls in with all his force upon his flank, and with his *Hungarian* hussars, made such a furious charge, that the *Swedes* could stand no longer.

The rout of the left wing was so much the more unhappy, as it happened just upon *Gustavus Horn's* coming up ; for being pushed on with the enemy at their heels, they were driven upon their own friends, who having no ground, to open and give them way, were trodden down by their own runaway brethren. This brought all into the utmost confusion. The *Imperialists* cried *Victoria*, and fell into the middle of the infantry with a terrible slaughter.

I have always observed, it is fatal to upbraid an old experienced officer with want of courage. If *Gustavus Horn* had not been whetted with the reproaches of the Baron *D'Offkirk*, and some of the other general officers, I believe it had saved the lives of 1000 men; for when all were thus lost, several officers advised him to make a retreat with such regiments as he had yet unbroken, but nothing could persuade him to stir a foot: but turning his flank into a front, he saluted the enemy as they passed by him in pursuit of the rest, with such terrible volleys of small shot, as cost them the lives of abundance of their men.

The *Imperialists*, eager in the pursuit, left him unbroken, till the *Spanish* brigade came up and charged him. These he bravely repulsed with a great slaughter, and after them a body of dragoons; till being laid at on every side, and most of his men killed, the brave old general, with all the rest who were left, were made prisoners.

The *Swedes* had a terrible loss here; almost all their infantry being killed or taken prisoners. *Gustavus Horn* refused quarter several times, and still those that attacked him were cut down by his men, who fought like furies, and by the example of their general, behaved themselves like lions. But at last, these poor remains of a body of the bravest men in the world were forced to submit. I have heard him say, he had much rather have died than been taken, but that he yielded in compassion to so many brave men as
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were about him ; for none of them would take quarter till he gave his consent.

I had the worst share in this battle that ever I had in any action of my life ; and that was to be posted among as brave a body of horse as any in *Germany*, and yet not be able to succour our own men ; as our foot were cut in pieces (as it were) before our faces, and the situation of the ground was such that we could not fall in. All that we were able to do, was to carry off about 2000 of the foot, who running away in the rout of the left wing, rallied among our squadrons, and got away with us. Thus we stood till we saw all was lost, and then made the best retreat we could to save ourselves, several regiments having never charged nor fired a shot ; for the foot had so embarrassed themselves among the lines and works of the enemy, and in the vineyards and mountains, that the horse were rendered absolutely unserviceable.

The Rhinegrave had made such expedition to join us, that he reached within three miles of the place of action that night, and he was a great safeguard for us in rallying our dispersed men, who otherwise had fallen into the enemy's hands, and in checking the pursuit of the enemy. And indeed, had but any considerable body of the foot made an orderly retreat, it had been very probable they had given the enemy a brush that would have turned the scale of victory ; for our horse being whole, and in a manner untouched, the enemy found such a check in the pursuit, that 1600 of their most forward
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men following too eagerly, fell in with the Rhinegrave's advanced troops the next day, and were cut in pieces without mercy.

This gave us some satisfaction for the loss, but it was but small compared to the ruin of that day. We lost near 8000 men upon the spot, and above 3000 prisoners, all our cannon and baggage and 120 colours. I thought I never made so indifferent a figure in my life, and so we thought all; to come away, lose our infantry, our general, our honour, and not so much as fight for it. Duke *Bernard* was utterly disconsolate for old *Gustavus Horn*, for he concluded him killed; he tore the hair from his head like a madman, and telling the Rhinegrave the story of the council of war, would reproach himself with not taking his advice, often repeating in his passion, "It is I that has been the death of the bravest general in *Germany*," would call himself fool and boy, and such-like names, for not listening to the reasons of an old experienced soldier. But when he heard he was still alive in the enemy's hands, he was the easier, and applied himself to the recruiting his troops, and the like business of the war; how ever it was not long before he paid the *Imperialists* with interest.

I returned to *Frankfort-au-Main* after this action, which happened the 17th of *August*, 1634; but the progress of the *Imperialists* was so great, that there was no staying at *Frankfort*. The Chancellor *Oxenstern* removed to *Magdenburgh*; Duke *Barnard*, and the Landgrave marched

marched into *Alfatia*; and the *Imperialists* carried all before them for the remainder of the campaign. They took *Philipsburgh* by surprise; *Ausburgh* by famine, *Spire* and *Treves* by sieges, taking the Elector prisoner. But this success did one piece of service to the *Swedes*, it brought the *French* into the war on their side; for the Elector of *Treves* was their confederate. The *French* gave the conduct of the war to Duke *Bernard*. This, though the Duke of *Saxony* fell off, and fought against them, turned the scale so much in their favour, that they recovered their losses and proved a terror to all *Germany*. The farther accounts of the war I refer to the histories of those times, which I have since read with a great deal of pleasure.

I confess, when I saw the progress of the *Imperial* army after the battle of *Nordlingen*. and the Duke of *Saxony* turning his arms against them, I thought their affairs declining; and giving them over for lost, I left *Frankfort* and came down the *Rhine* to *Cologne*, and from thence into *Holland*.—I came to the *Hague* the 8th of *March*, 1635, having spent three years and a half in *Germany* and the greatest part of it in the *Swedish* army.

I staid some time in *Holland* viewing the wonderful power of art which I observed in the fortifications of their towns, where the very bastions stand on bottomless morasses, and yet are as firm as any in the world. There I had the opportunity of seeing the *Dutch* army, and their famous general, Prince *Maurice*. It is true,

the men behaved themselves well enough in action, when they were put to it, but the Prince's way of beating his enemies without fighting, was so unlike the gallantry of my royal instructor, that it had no manner of relish with me.— Our way in *Germany* was always to seek out the enemy and fight them; and, give the *Imperialists* their due, they were seldom hard to be found, but were as free of their flesh as we.

Whereas, Prince *Maurice* would lie in a camp till he starved half his men, if by lying there he could but starve two-thirds of his enemies; so that indeed the war in *Holland* had more of fatigues and hardships in it, and ours had more of fighting and blows: hasty marches, long and unwholesome encampments, winter parties, counter-marching, dodging and entrenching, were the exercises of his men; and ostentime killed him more men with hunger, cold and diseases, than he could do with fighting: not that it required less courage, but rather more; for a soldier had at any time rather die in the field *a la coup de mousquet*, than be starved with hunger, or frozen to death in the trenches.

Nor do I think I lessen the reputation of that great general; for it is most certain he ruined the *Spaniards* more by spinning the war thus out in length, than he could possibly have done by a swift conquest: for had he, *Gustavus* like, with a torrent of victory dislodged the *Spaniards* of all the twelve provinces in five years, whereas he was forty years in beating them out of seven, he had left them rich and strong at home, and
able

able to keep them in constant apprehensions of a return of his power: but thus, by the long continuance of the war, he so broke the very heart of the *Spanish* monarchy, so absolutely and irrecoverably impoverished them, that they have ever since languished of the disease, till they are fallen from the most powerful, to the most despicable nation in the world.

The prodigious charge the King of *Spain* was at in losing the seven provinces, broke the very spirit of the nation; and that so much, that all the wealth of their *Peruvian* mountains have not been able to retrieve it: King *Philip* having often declared that war, beside his armada for invading *England*, had cost him 370 million ducats, and 4 millions of the best soldiers in *Europe*; whereof, by an unreasonable *Spanish* obstinacy, about sixty thousand lost their lives before *Ostend*, a town not worth a sixth part of either the blood or money it cost in a siege of three years; and which at last he had never taken, only Prince *Maurice* thought it not worth the charge of defending any longer.

However, I say, their way of fighting in *Holland* did not relish with me at all. The Prince lay a long time before a little fort called *Sbenksens*, which the *Spaniards* took by surprise, and I thought he might have taken it much sooner. Perhaps it might be my mistake; but I fancied my hero, the King of *Sweden*, would have carried it sword in hand, in half the time—However it was, I did not like it; so in the latter end of the year I came to the *Hague*, and took
shipping

shipping for *England*, where I arrived, to the great satisfaction of my father and all my friends.

My father was then in *London*, and carried me to kiss the King's hand. His Majesty was pleased to receive me very well, and to say a great many very obliging things to my father upon my account.

I spent my time very retired from court, for I was almost wholly in the country; and it being so much different from my genius, which hankered after a warmer sport than hunting among our *Welch* mountains, I could not but be peeping in all the accounts from *Germany*, to see how things went on. But I could never hear of a battle, but the *Germans* were beaten, yet I began to wish myself there. But when an account came of the progress of Sir *John Bannier*, the *Swedish* general in *Saxony*, and of the constant victories he had there over the *Saxons*, I could no longer contain myself, but told my father this life was very disagreeable to me; that I lost my time here, and might to much more advantage go into *Germany*, where I was sure I might make my fortune upon my own terms. That, as young as I was, I might have been a general officer by this time, if I had not laid down my commission: and if he pleased to give me leave, I would go for *Germany* again. My father was very unwilling to let me go, but seeing me uneasy, told me, if I was resolved, he would oblige me to stay no longer in *England* than the next spring, and I should have his consent.

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The winter following began to look very unpleasant upon us in *England*, and my father used often to sigh at it; and would sometimes tell me, he was afraid we should have no need to send *Englishmen* into *Germany* to fight.—The cloud which seemed to threaten most was from *Scotland*. My father, who had made himself master of the arguments on both sides, used to say, he feared there were some about his Majesty who exasperated him too much against the *Scots*, and drove things too high. For my part, I confess, I did not much trouble my head with the cause, but all my fear was, they would not fall out, and we should have no fighting. I have often reflected since, that I ought to have known better, that had seen how the most flourishing provinces of *Germany* were reduced to the most miserable condition that ever any country in the world was, by the ravaging of soldiers, and the calamities of war.

How much soever I was to blame, yet so it was, I had a secret joy at the news of the King's raising an army, and nothing could have withheld me from appearing in it; but my eagerness was still increased by an express the King sent to my father, to know if his son was in *England*; and my father having ordered me to carry the answer myself, I waited upon his Majesty with the messenger. The King received me with his usual kindness, and asked me if I was willing to serve him against the *Scots*?

I answered, I was ready to serve him against any that his Majesty thought fit to account his enemies,

enemies, and should think it an honour to receive his commands. Hereupon his Majesty offered me a commission. I told him I supposed there would not be much time for raising men; that if his Majesty pleased I would be at the rendezvous with as many gentlemen as I could get together, to serve his Majesty as volunteers.

The truth is, I found all the regiments of horse the King designed to raise, were but two as regiments; the rest of the horse were such as the nobility raised in their several counties, and commanded by themselves; and as I had commanded a regiment of horse abroad, it looked a little odd to serve with a single troop at home; and the King took the thing presently. "Indeed, it will be a volunteer war (said the King) for the northern gentry have sent me an account of above 400 horse they have already." I bowed, and told his Majesty, I was glad to hear his subjects were so forward to serve him; so taking his Majesty's orders to be at York by the end of *March*, I returned to my father.

My father was very glad I had not taken a commission, for I know not from what kind of emulation between the western and northern gentry. The gentlemen of our side were not very forward in the service; their loyalty to the King in the succeeding times made it appear it was not from any disaffection to his Majesty's interest or person, or to the cause; but this however made it difficult for me when I came home, to get any gentleman of quality to serve with me, so that I presented myself to his Majesty,
only

only as a volunteer with eight gentlemen and about thirty-six countrymen well mounted and armed.

And as it proved, these were enough, for this expedition ended in an accommodation with the Scots; and they not advancing so much as to their own borders, we never came to any action; but the armies lay in the counties of *Northumberland* and *Durham*, eat up the country, and spent the King a vast sum of money, and so this war ended, a pacification was made, and both sides returned.

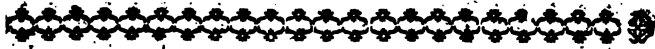
But indeed, I never saw such a despicable appearance of men in arms to begin a war in my life; whether it was that I had seen so many braver armies abroad that prejudiced me against them, or that it really was so; for to me they seemed little better than a rabble met together to devour, rather than fight for their King and country. There was indeed a great appearance of gentlemen, and those of extraordinary quality; but their garb, their equipages and their mein did not look like war; their troops were filled with footmen and servants, and wretchedly armed, God wot! I believe I might say, without vanity, one regiment of *Finland* horse would have made sport at beating them all.—There were such crowds of parsons (for this was a church war in particular) that the camp and court was full of them; and the King was so externally besieged with clergymen of one sort or another, that it gave offence to the chief of the nobility.

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As was the appearance, so was the service; the army marched to the borders, and the head quarters were at *Berwick-upon-Tweed*; but the *Scots* never appeared, no, not so much as their scouts; whereupon the King called a council of war, and there it was resolved to send the Earl of *Holland* with a party of horse into *Scotland*; to learn some news of the enemy; and truly the first news he brought us was, that finding their army encamped about *Coldingham*, 15 miles from *Berwick*, as soon as he appeared, the *Scots* drew out a party to charge him, upon which most of his men haked, I do not say run away but it was next to it; for they could not be persuaded to fire their pistols, and wheel off like soldiers, but retreated in such a disorderly and shameful manner, that had the enemy had either the courage or conduct to have followed them it must have certainly ended in the ruin of the whole party.

END OF FIRST PART.

MEMOIR



MEMOIRS

OF A

CAVALIER, &c.

PART SECOND.

I Confess, when I went into arms at the beginning of this war, I never troubled myself to examine sides: I was glad to hear the drums beat for soldiers; as if I had been a mere *Swiss*, that did not care which side went up or down, so I got my pay. I went as eagerly and blindly about my business, as the meanest wretch that listed into the army; nor did I the least compassionate thought for the miseries of my native country, till after the fight of *Edgehill*. I had known as much, and perhaps more than most of the army, what it was to have an enemy ranging in the bowels of a kingdom. I had seen the most flourishing provinces of *Germany* reduced to perfect deserts, and the voracious *Crabats*, with inhuman barbarity, kindling the fires of the plundered villages with the blood of the inhabitants. Whether this had hardened me against the natural tenderness which I afterward found return upon me,

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me, or not, I cannot tell ; but I reflected upon myself afterward with a great deal of trouble, for the unconcernedness of my temper at the approaching ruin of my native country.

I was in the first army at *York*, as I have already noted, and I must confess, had the least diversion there that ever I found in an army in my life ; for when I was in *Germany* with the King of *Sweden*, we used to see the King with the general officers every morning on horseback, viewing his men, his artillery, his horses, and always something going forward. Here we saw nothing but courtiers, bishops and clergymen, as busy as if the direction of the war had been in them ; the King was seldom seen among us, and never without some of them about him.

Those few of us that had seen the wars, and would have made a short end of this for him, began to be very uneasy ; and particularly a certain nobleman took the freedom of telling the King, that the clergymen would certainly ruin the expedition. The case was this, he would have had the King marched immediately into *Scotland*, and put the matter to the trial of a battle, and he urged it every day ; the King, finding his reasons very good, would often be of his opinion ; but next morning would be quite different.

This gentleman was a man of good conduct, of unquestioned courage, and afterward lost his life for the King. He saw we had an army of young stout fellows, numerous enough ; and though they had not yet seen much service, he
was

was for bringing them to action, that the *Scots* might not have time to strengthen themselves; nor they have time by idleness and sotting (the bane of soldiers) to make themselves unfit for any thing.

I was one morning in company with this gentleman; and as he was a warm man, and eager in his discourse, "pox on these priests (says he) it is for them the King has raised this army, and put his friends to a vast charge; and now we are come, they will not let us fight."—But I was afterwards convinced, the clergy saw farther into the matter than we did; they saw the *Scots* had a better army than we had, bold and ready, commanded by brave officers; and they foresaw, that if we fought, we should be beaten, and if beaten, they were undone. And it was very true, we had all been ruined, if we had engaged.

It is true, when we came to the pacification which followed, I confess I was of the same mind the gentleman had been of; for we had better have fought and been beaten, than have made so dishonourable a treaty, without striking a stroke. This pacification seems to me to have laid the scheme of all the blood and confusion which followed in the civil war; for whatever the King and his friends might pretend to do by talking big, the *Scots* saw he was to be bullied into any thing, and that when it came to the push, the courtiers never cared to bring it to blows.—I have little or nothing to say as to action, in this mock-expedition. The King

King was persuaded at last to march to *Berwick*; and as I have said already, a party of horse went out to learn news of the *Scots*, and as soon as they saw them, run away, bravely.

This made the *Scots* so insolent, that whereas before they lay encamped behind a river, and never shewed themselves, in a sort of modest deference to their King, which was the pretence of not being aggressors or invaders, only arming in their own defence; now, having been invaded by the *English* troops entering *Scotland*, they had what they wanted: and to shew it was not fear that restrained them before, but policy, now they came up in parties to our very gates, braving and facing us every day.

I had, with more curiosity than discretion, put myself as a volunteer at the head of one of our party's of horse, under my Lord *Holland*, when they went out to discover the enemy; they went, they said, to see what the *Scots* were a-doing.—We had not marched far, but our scouts brought word, they had discovered some horse, but could not come up to them, because of a river. At the heels of these came another party of our men upon the spur to us, and said the enemy were behind, which might be true, for ought we knew; but it was so far behind, that nobody could see them, and yet the country was plain and open for above a mile before us. Hereupon we made a halt, and indeed I was afraid it would have been an odd sort of one, for our men began to look one upon another, as they always do, when they are going to break; and

and when the scouts came galloping in, the men were in such disorder, that had but one man broke away, I am satisfied they would all have run for it.

I found my Lord *Holland* did not perceive it; but after the first surprise was a little over, I told my Lord what I had observed; and that unless some course was immediately taken, they would all run at the first sight of the enemy. I found he was much concerned at it, and began to consult what course to take to prevent it. I confess, it is a hard question how to make men stand and face an enemy, when fear has possessed their minds with an inclination to run away: but I will give that honour to the memory of that noble gentleman, who though his experience in matters of war was small, having never been in much service; yet his courage made a-ends for it; for I dare say he would not have turned his horse from an army of enemies, nor have saved his life at the price of running away from it.

My Lord soon saw, as well as I, the fright the men were in, after I had given him a hint of it; and, to encourage them, rode through their ranks, spoke chearfully to them, and used what arguments he thought proper to settle their minds. I remember a saying which I had heard of Marshal *Gustavus Horn* speak in *Germany*.

"If you find your men falter, or in doubt, never suffer them to halt, but keep them advancing; for while they are going forward, it keeps up their courage."

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As soon as I could get opportunity to speak to him, I gave him this as my opinion. That is very well, says my lord, but I am studying, says he, to post them so as they cannot run if they would; and if they stand but once to face the enemy, I do not fear them afterwards.

While we were discoursing thus, word was brought that several parties of the enemy were seen on the farther side of the river, upon which his lordship gave the word to march; as we were marching on, my lord calls out a lieutenant who had been an old soldier, with only five troopers in whom he put most confidence, and having given him his lesson, he sends him away; in a quarter of an hour, one of the five troopers comes back galloping and hallowing, and tells us his lieutenant had with his small party beaten a party of 20 of the enemy's horse over the river, and had secured the pass, and desired my lord would march up to him immediately.

It is a strange thing that men's spirits should be subjected to such sudden changes and capable of so much alteration from shadows of things. They were for running before they saw the enemy, but now they were in haste to be led on; but in raw men we are obliged to bear with any thing, for the disorder in both was intolerable.

The story was a premeditated sham, and not a word of truth in it, invented to raise their spirits and cheat them out of their cowardly flegmatic apprehensions, and my lord had his end in it, for they were all on fire to fall on; and I am persuaded, had they been led immediately

ately into a battle begun to their hands, they would have laid about them like furies ; for there is nothing like victory to flush a young soldier. Thus while the humour was high, and the fermentation lasted, away we marched ; and passing one of their great commons, which they call moors, we came to the river, as he called it, where our lieutenant was posted with his four men ; it was a little brook fordable with ease, and leaving a guard at the pass, we advanced to the top of a small ascent, from whence we had fair view of the *Scots* army, as they lay behind another river larger than the former.

Our men were posted well enough, behind small enclosure, with a narrow lane in their front. My lord had caused his dragoons to be placed in the front to line the hedges, and in his posture he stood viewing the enemy at a distance. The *Scots* who had some intelligence of our coming, drew out three small parties, and sent them by different ways to observe our number ; and forming a fourth party, which I guessed to be about 600 horse, advanced to the top of the plain, and drew up to face us, but never offered to attack us.

One of the small parties making about 100 men, one third foot, passes upon our flank in view, but out of reach ; and as they marched, shouted at us, which our men were better pleased with than with fighting, readily enough answered, and would fain have fired at them for pleasure of making a noise ; for they were far off to hit them.—I observed that these parties

parties had always some foot with them; and yet if the horse galloped, or pushed on ever so forward, the foot were as forward as they, and was an extraordinary advantage.

Gustavus Adolphus, that King of soldiers, was the first that I have ever observed found the advantage of mixing small bodies of musqueteers among his horse; and had he had such nimble, strong fellows as these, he would have prized them above all the rest of his men. These were those they called *Highlanders*; they would run on foot with their arms and all their accoutrements, keep very good order too, and keep pace with the horse, let them go at what rate they would. When I saw the foot thus interlined among the horse, together with their way of ordering flying parties, it presently occurred to my mind, that here were some of our old *Scots*, come home out of *Germany*, that had the ordering of matters; and if so, I knew we were not a match for them.

Thus we stood facing the enemy, until our scouts brought us word the whole *Scots* army were in motion, and in full march to attack us; and though it was not true, for the fear of our men doubled every object, yet it was thought convenient to make our retreat. The whole matter was, that the scouts having informed them what they could, of our strength; the 600 were ordered to march towards us, and 3 regiments of foot were drawn out to support the horse.

I know not whether they would have ventured

ed to attack us, at least before their foot had ne up ; but whether they would have put it the hazard or no, we were resolved not to ha- d the trial, so we drew down to the pass ; t, as retreating looks something like running ay, especially when an enemy is at hand, our p had much ado to make their retreat pass a march, and not a flight ; and, by their en looking behind them, any body might ow what they would have done if they had n pressed.

I confess, I was heartily ashamed when the rs coming up to the place where we had been ted, stood and shouted at us. I would have suaded my lord to have charged them, and would have done it with all his heart, but saw it was not practicable ; so we stood at ze with them above two hours, by which e their foot were come up to them, and yet y did not offer to attack us. Never was I ashamed of myself ; we were all dispirited, ; *Scots* gentlemen would come out single, thin shot of our post, which in time of war always accounted a challenge to any single ntleman, to come out and exchange a pistol th them, and no body would stir ; at last our lieutenant rides out to meet a *Scotchman* that ne pickeering on his quarter. This lieute- it was a brave and strong fellow, had been a lier in the low countries ; and though he was of any quality, only a mere soldier, had preferment from his conduct. He gallops vely up to his adversary, and exchanging
Y their

their pistols, the lieutenant's horse happened to be killed. The *Scotchman* very generously dismounts, engages him with his sword, fairly masters him and carries him away prisoner: I think this horse was all the blood that was shed in this war.

The lieutenant's name thus conquered was *English*, and as he was a very stout old soldier, the disgrace of it broke his heart. The *Scotchman* indeed used him very generously; for he treated him in the camp very courteously, gave him another horse, and set him at liberty, *gratis*. But the man laid it so to heart, that he never would appear in the army, but went home to his own country and died.

I had enough of party-making, and was quite sick with indignation at the cowardise of the men, and my lord was in as great a fret as I but there was no remedy; we durst not turn about to retreat, for we should have been in such confusion, that the enemy must have discovered it: so my lord resolved to keep the post, if possible, and send to the King for some foot. There were our men ready to fight with one another who should be the messenger, and at last when a lieutenant with 20 dragoons was dispatched, he told him afterwards he found himself an hundred strong before he was got a mile from the place.—In short, as soon as ever the day declined, and the dusk of the evening began to shelter the designs of the men, they dropt away from us one by one; and at last such numbers, that if we had stayed till the morning, we had

not

not had 50 men left, out of 1200 horse and dragoons.

When I saw how it was, consulting with some of the officers, we all went to my Lord *Holland*, and pressed him to retreat, before the enemy should discern the flight of our men; so he drew us off, and we came to the camp next morning, in the most shameful condition ever poor men could do. And this was the end of the worst expedition ever I made.

To fight and be beaten, is a casualty common to a soldier, and I have since had enough of it; but to run away at the sight of an enemy, and neither strike nor be stricken, is the very shame of the profession, and no man that has done it, ought to shew his face again in the field, unless disadvantages of place or number make it tolerable, neither of which was our case.

My Lord *Holland* made another march a few days after, in hopes to retrieve this miscarriage; but I had enough of it, so I kept in my quarters. And though his men did not desert him as before, they did not think fit to fight, and came off with but little more honour than they did before.

There was no need to go out to seek the enemy after this, for they came, as I have noted, and pitched in sight of us, and their parties came up every day to the very out-works of *Berwick*; but nobody cared to meddle with them: and in this posture things stood when the pacification was agreed on by both parties; which, like a short truce, only gave both sides breath

breath to prepare for a new war more ridiculously managed than the former. When the treaty was so near a conclusion, that conversation was admitted on both sides, I went over to the *Scotch* camp to satisfy my curiosity, as did many of our *English* officers.

I confess, the soldiers made a very uncouth figure, especially the *Highlanders*: the oddness and barbarity, of their garb and arms seemed to have something in it remarkable. They were generally tall swinging fellows; their swords were extravagantly, and I think insignificantly broad, and they carried great wooden targets large enough to cover the upper part of their bodies. Their dress were as antique as the rest; a cap on their heads, called by them a bonnet; long hanging sleeves behind, and their doublet, breeches and stockings of a stuff they called plaid, striped across red and yellow, with short cloaks of the same. These fellows looked, when drawn out, like a regiment of *Merry Andrews* ready for *Bartholomew* fair. They are in companies all of a name, and therefore call one another only by their Christian names, as *Jemmy*, *Jockey*, *Sawney*, and the like. And they scorn to be commanded but by one of their own clan or family. They are all gentlemen, and proud enough to be Kings. The meanest fellow among them is as tenacious of his honour as the best nobleman in the country; and they will fight and cut one another's throats for every trifling affront.

But to their own clans or lairds, they are the willingest

willingest and most obedient fellows in nature. Give them their due; were their skill in exercises and discipline proportioned to their courage, they would make the bravest soldiers in the world. They are large bodies, prodigiously strong, and two qualities they have above any other nations, *viz.* hardy to endure hunger, cold and hardships, and wonderfully swift of foot. The latter is such an advantage in the field, that I know none like it; for if they conquer, no enemy can escape; and if they run, even the horse can hardly overtake them. These were some, who, as I observed before, went out in parties with their horse.

There were three or four thousand of these in the *Scots* army, armed only with swords and targets; and in their belts some of them had a pistol, but no musquets at that time among them.—But there were also a great many regiments of disciplined men, who by their carrying their arms, looked as if they understood their business, and by their faces, that they durst see an enemy.

I had not been half an hour in their camp, after the ceremony of giving our names, and passing their out-guards and main guard was over, but I was saluted by several of my acquaintance; and in particular, by one who led the *Scotch* volunteers at the taking of the castle of *Openheim*, of which I have given an account. They used me with all the respect they thought due to me, on account of old affairs; gave me the word, and a sergeant waited upon me whenever I pleased to go abroad. I

I continued 12 or 14 days among them, till the pacification was concluded ; and they were ordered to march home. They spoke very respectfully of the King, but I found were exasperated to the last degree at Archbishop *Laud* and the *English* bishops, for endeavouring to impose the common-prayer book upon them ; and they always talked with the utmost contempt of our soldiers and army. I always waved the discourse about the clergy and the occasion of the war ; but I could not help but be too sensible what they said of our men was true ; and by this I perceived they had an universal intelligence from among us, both of what we were doing, and what sort of people we were that were doing it ; and they were mighty desirous of coming to blows with us. I had an invitation from their general, but I declined it, lest I should give offence. I found they accepted the pacification as a thing not likely to hold ; and that they were resolved to keep their force on foot, notwithstanding the agreement. Their whole army was full of brave officers, men of as much experience and conduct as any in the world ; and every person who knows any thing of war, must know good officers presently make a good army.

Things being thus huddled up, the *English* came back to *York*, where the army separated ; and the *Scots* went home to increase theirs ; for I easily foresaw, that peace was the farthest thing from their thoughts.

The next year the flame broke out again, the King

draws his forces down into the north, as
 ; and expressees were sent to all the gentle-
 hat had commands, to be at the place by
 5th of *July*. As I had accepted of no
 and in the army, so I had no inclination
 to go ; for I foresaw there would be no
 but disgrace attend it. My father observ-
 ch an alteration in my usual forwardness,
 me one day, what was the matter, that I,
 used to be so forward to go into the army,
 eager to run abroad to fight, now shewed
 inclination to appear when the service of the
 and Country called me to it? I told him,
 as much zeal as ever for the King's ser-
 and for the Country too : but he knew a
 could not abide to be beaten ; and being
 hence a little more inquisitive, I told him
 observations I had made in the *Scots* army,
 ie people I had conversed with there, had
 d me, for certain, if the King offers to
 hem he will be beaten ; and I do not love
 age when my judgment tells me before-
 I shall be worsted. And as I had fore-
 it came to pass ; for the *Scots* resolving to
 d, never stood upon the ceremony of ag-
 n as before, but on the 20th of *August*,
 ntered *England* with their army.

never, as my father desired, I went to
 ng's army, which was then at *York*, but
 t all together. The King himself was at
 z ; but upon this news takes post for the
 and advancing a part of his forces, he
 Lord *Conway* and Sir *Jacob Astley*, with

a brigade of foot and some horse at *Newburn*, upon the river *Tyne*, to keep the *Scots* from passing that river.

The *Scots* could have passed the *Tyne* without fighting; but to let us see that they were able to force their passage, they fell upon this body of men; and notwithstanding all the advantages of the place, drove them from the post, took their baggage and two pieces of cannon, with some prisoners. Sir *Jacob Astley* made what resistance he could; but the *Scots* charged with so much fury, and being overpowered, he was soon put into confusion. Immediately the *Scott* made themselves masters of *Newcastle*, and the next day of *Durham*, and laid those two counties under intolerable contributions.

Now was the King absolutely ruined; for among his own people the discontents before were so plain, that had the clergy had any forecast, they would never have embroiled him with the *Scots*, till he had fully brought matters to an understanding at home: but the case was thus. The King, by the good management of Bishop *Juxon*, his treasurer, had a million of ready money in his treasury, and upon that account having no need of a parliament, had not called one in 12 years; and perhaps had never called another, if he had not by this unhappy circumstance been reduced to a necessity of it; for now this ready money was spent in two foolish expeditions, and his army appeared in a condition not fit to engage the *Scots*; the detachment under Sir *Jacob Astley*, which were
the

the flower of his men, had been routed at *New-
burn*, and the enemy had possession of two en-
tire counties.

All men blamed *Laud* for prompting the King
to provoke the *Scots*, a headstrong nation, and
zealous for their own way of worship; and
Laud himself found too late the consequences
of it, both to the whole cause and to himself;
for the *Scots*, whose native temper is not easily
to forgive an injury, pursued him by their party
in *England*, and never gave it over, till they
laid his head on the block.

The ruined country now clamoured in his
Majesty's ears with daily petitions, and the
entry of other neighbouring counties cried out
for peace and a parliament. The King embar-
rassed with these difficulties, and quite empty
of money, calls a great council of the nobility
of *York*, and demands their advice, which any
one could have told him before, would be to
call a parliament.

I cannot, without regret, look back upon the
misfortune of the King, as he was one of the
best Princes, in his personal conduct, that ever
reigned in *England*, yet had some of the greatest
unhappineffes as a King, ever Prince had, and
the whole course of his life was a demonstration
of it.

First, he was possessed of an impolitic ho-
nesty, which his enemies called obstinacy: but
as I was perfectly acquainted with his temper, I
was led to think it was his judgment, when he
thought he was in the right, to adhere to it as

a duty though against his interest.—No but himself would have denied what at some times he denied, nor have granted what at other times he granted; and this uncertainty of counsel proceeded from two things, *viz.* the heat of the clergy, to whom he was exceedingly devoted, and, indeed, for whom he ruined himself; and the wisdom of his nobility.

Thus when the counsel of his priests prevailed, all was fire and fury; the *Scots* were rebuffed, and must be subdued; and the parliament's demands were to be rejected as exorbitant; whenever the King's judgment was led by the grave and steady advice of his nobility and counsellors, he was always inclined by them to temper his measures between the two extremes; and had he gone on in such a temper he had never met with the misfortunes which afterward attended him; nor had so many thousands of his friends lost their lives and fortunes in his service.

I am sure, we that knew what it was to do for him, and that loved him better than any the clergy could pretend to, have had many consultations how to bring over our master from espousing their interest, as to ruin him for it; but it was in vain.

I took this interval, when I sat still and looked on, to make these remarks, because I remember the best friends the King had were of this opinion. It was an uncountable piece of indiscretion, to commence quarrel with the *Scots*, a poor and obstinate people.

people, for a ceremony and book of church discipline, at a time when the King stood but upon indifferent terms with his people at home. The consequence was, it put arms into the hands of his subjects to rebel against him; it embroiled him with his parliament in *England*, to whom he was fain to stoop in a fatal and unusual manner to get money, all his own being spent, and so to buy off the *Scots* whom he could not beat.

I must give one instance of the unaccountable politics of his ministers. If they over-ruled this unhappy King to it, with design to exhaust and impoverish him, they were the worst of traitors; if not, the grossest of fools. They prompted the King to equip a fleet against the *Scots*, and to put on board 5000 landmen. Had this been all, the design had been good, that while the King had faced the army upon the borders, these 5000 landing in the frith of *Edinburgh* might have put that whole nation into disorder. But in order to this, they advised the King to lay out his money in fitting out the biggest ships he had, and the *Royal Sovereign*, the largest ship the world had ever seen, which cost him no less than 100000 pounds was now built, and fitted out for this voyage.—This was the most incongruous and ridiculous advice that could be given, and made us all believe we were betrayed, though we knew not by whom.

To fit out ships of 100 guns to invade *Scotland*, who had not one man of war in the world, nor any open confederacy with any Prince or
state

state that had any fleet for a defence! An hundred sail of *Newcastle* colliers, to carry the men with their stores and provisions, and ten frigates of 40 guns each, had been as good a fleet as reason and the nature of things could have made tolerable.

Thus matters were carried on, till the King, beggared by the mismanagement of his counsels, and beaten by the *Scots*, was driven to the necessity of calling a parliament in *England*.

It is not my design to enter into the feuds and brawls of this parliament. I have noted, by observations of their mistakes, who brought the King to this unhappy necessity of calling them—His Majesty had tried parliaments upon several occasions before, but never found himself so much embroiled with them but he could send them home, and there was end of it; but as he could not avoid calling these, so they took care to put him out of a condition to dismiss them.—The *Scots* army was now quartered upon the *English*. The counties, the gentry, and the assembly of lords at *York*, petitioned for a parliament.

The *Scots* presented their demands to the King, in which it was observed, that matters were concerted betwixt them and a party in *England*; and, I confess, when I saw that, I began to think the King in an ill case; for as the *Scots* pretended grievances, we thought, the King redressing those grievances, they could ask no more; and therefore, all men advised the King to grant their full demands. And the King
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not having money sufficient to supply the *Scots* in their march home, I know there were several meetings of gentlemen with a design to advance considerable sums to the King for setting him free, and in order to reinstate his Majesty, as before. Not that we ever advised the King to rule without a parliament, but were very desirous of putting him out of the necessity of calling one, at least, at that period.

But the eighth article of the *Scots* demands expressly required, That an *English* parliament might be called to remove all obstructions of commerce, and to settle peace, religion and liberty; and in another article they tell the King; the 24th of *September*, being the time his Majesty appointed for the meeting of the peers, will make it too long before the parliament meet. And in another, That a parliament was the only way of settling peace, and bringing them to his Majesty's obedience.

When we saw this in the army, it was time to look about. Every body indeed perceived that the *Scots* army would call an *English* parliament; and whatever aversion the King had to it, all saw he was obliged to comply; and now those who advised the King to this war, began to see their error.

While these were transacting, the assembly of the peers met at *York*; and by their advice, a treaty was begun with the *Scots*. I had the honour to be sent with the first message, which was in writing.

I brought it, attended with a trumpet and a guard

guard of 500 horse, to the *Scots* quarters. I was stopped at *Darlington*, and my errand being known, General *Lesley* sent a *Scots* major and 50 horse to receive me, but would let neither my trumpet or guard set foot within their quarters. In this manner I was conducted to an audience in the chapter-house at *Durham*, where a committee of *Scots* lords who attended the army, received me very courteously, and gave me their answer in writing also.

It was in this answer they shewed, at least to me, their design of embroiling the King with his *English* subjects; they discoursed very freely with me, and did not order me to withdraw when they debated their private opinions. They drew up several answers but did not like them; at last, they offered me one which I would not receive; I thought it too insolent to be borne with, and, as near as I can remember, ran thus: “The Commissioners of *Scotland* attending the service in the army, do refuse any treaty in the city of *York*.”

One of the commissioners who treated me with more distinction than the rest, and discoursed freely with me, gave me an opportunity to speak more freely of this than I expected.—I told them, if they would return to his Majesty an answer fit for me to carry, or if they would say they would not treat at all, I would deliver such a message: but I intreated them to consider the answer was to their Sovereign, and to whom they made a great profession of duty and respect; and at least they ought to give their reasons—

reasons why they declined a treaty at *York*; and to name some other place, or humbly to desire His Majesty to name some other place: but their sending word they would not treat at *York*, I could by no means deliver, for when put into *English* would signify, they would not treat at all.

I used a great many reasons and arguments with them on this head: and at last, with difficulty, obtained of them to give the reason; which was, the Earl of *Strafford's* having the chief command at *York*, whom they declared their mortal enemy, he having declared them rebels in *Ireland*.

With this answer I returned. I could make no observation in the short time I was with them; for I staid but one night and was guarded as a close prisoner all the while. I saw several of their officers whom I knew, but they durst not speak to me; and if they had offered, my guard would not have permitted them.

In this manner I was conducted out of their quarters to my own party again, and having delivered my message to the King, and told his Majesty the circumstances, I saw he received the account of the haughty behaviour of the *Scots* with some regret; however it was his Majesty's time now to bear, and therefore the *Scots* were complied with and the treaty appointed at *Rippon*; where, after much debate, several preliminary articles were agreed upon, as, a cessation of arms, quarters and bounds to the armies, subsistence to the *Scots* army, and the residue

'fidue' of the demands were referred to a treaty at *London*, &c.

We were all amazed at the treaty, and I remember we would much rather have been suffered to fight; for though we had been worsted at first, the power and strength of the King's interest which was not yet tried, must, in fine, have been too strong for the *Scots*: whereas we now saw the King was for complying with any thing, and all his friends would be ruined.

I confess, I had nothing to fear, and so was not much concerned; for our predictions soon came to pass. No sooner was this parliament called, but abundance of those who had embroiled their King with his people of both kingdoms, like the disciples, when their master was betrayed to the *Jews*, forsook him and fled; and now parliament tyranny began to succeed that of the church, which we soldiers were glad to see at first. The bishops trembled, the judges went to gaol; the officers of the customs were laid hold on; and the parliament began to lay their fingers on the great ones, particularly Archbishop *Laud* and the Earl of *Strafford*. We had no great concern for the first, but the last was a man of so much conduct and gallantry, and so beloved by the soldiers and principality of *England*, that every body was touched with his misfortune.

The parliament now grew mad in their turn, and as the prosperity of any party is the time shew their discretion, the parliament shew they knew as little where to stop as other peo-

ple. The King was not in a condition to deny any thing, and nothing could be demanded but they pushed it. They attainted the Earl of *Strafford*, and thereby made the King cut off his right hand to save his left, and not save it neither. They obtained another bill, to empower them to sit during their own pleasure, and after them, triennial parliaments to meet, whether the King called them or not; and the granting of this completed his Majesty's ruin.

Had the house only regulated the abuses of the court, punished evil counsellors, and restored parliaments to their original and just powers, all had been well, and the King, though he had been more than mortified, and yet reaped the benefit of future peace; for now the *Scots* were sent home, after having eaten up two Counties, and received a prodigious sum of money to boot; and the King, though too late, goes in person to *Edinburgh*, and grants them all they could desire, and more than they asked, but in *England*, the desire of ours were unbounded, and drove at all extremes.

They threw out the bishops from sitting in the house, made a protestation equivalent to the *Scotch* covenant; and this done, printed their remonstrance. This so provoked the King, he resolves upon seizing some of the members, and in an ill hour enters the house in person to take them. Thus one imprudent thing on one hand produced another on the other, till the King was obliged to leave them to themselves, for

fear of being mobbed into something or other unworthy of himself.

These proceedings began to alarm the nobility and gentry of *England*; for however willing we were to have evil counsellors removed, and the government return to a settled and legal course, according to the happy constitution of this nation, and might have been forward enough to have owned the King had been misled, and imposed upon to do things which he had rather had not been done; yet it did not follow, that all the powers and prerogatives of the crown should devolve upon the parliament, and the King in a manner be deposed, or else sacrificed to the fury of the rabble.—The heats of the house running them thus to all extremes, and at last to take from the King the power of the militia, which indeed were all that was left to make him any thing of a King, put his Majesty upon opposing force with force; and thus the flame of civil war began.

However backward I was in engaging in the second year's expedition against the *Scots*, I was as forward now; for I waited on the King at *York*, where a gallant company of gentlemen never were seen in *England*, engaged themselves to enter into his service; and here some of them formed ourselves into troops for the guard of his person.

The King having been waited upon by the nobility and gentry of *Yorkshire*, and having told them his resolution of erecting his royal standard, and received from them hearty assurances of support
dismissed

dismisses them and marches to *Hull*, where lay the train of artillery, and all the arms and ammunition belonging to the northern army which had been disbanded. But here the parliament had been beforehand with his Majesty, so that when he came to *Hull*, he found the gates shut, and Sir *John Hotham*, the governor, upon the walls, though with a great deal of seeming humility and protestations of loyalty to his person, yet with a positive denial to admit any of the King's attendants into the town. If his Majesty pleased to enter the town in person with any reasonable number of his household, he would submit, but would not be prevailed on to receive the King, as he would be received, with his forces, though they were then very few.

The King was exceedingly provoked at this repulse, and indeed it was a great surprise to us all; for certainly never Prince began a war against the whole strength of his kingdom, under the circumstances that he was in. He had not a garrison or a company of soldiers in his pay, not a stand of arms or a barrel of powder, musquet, cannon or mortar, not a ship of all the fleet, nor money in his treasury to procure them; whereas the parliament had all his navy, ordnance, stores, magazines, arms, ammunition and revenue in their keeping. And this I take to be another defect of the King's counsel, and a sad instance of the distraction of his affairs; that when he saw how all things were going to wreck, as it was impossible but he should,

should, and it is plain he did see it, that he should not long enough before it came to extremities, secure the navy, magazines and stores of war, in the hands of his trusty servants that would have been sure to have preserved them for him at a time when he wanted them.

It cannot be supposed, but the gentry of *England*, who generally preserved their loyalty for their royal master, and at last heartily shewed it, were exceedingly discouraged at first, when they saw the parliament had all the means of making war in their own hands, and the King was naked and destitute both of arms, ammunition, and money to procure them.—Not but the King, by extraordinary application, recovered the disorder the want of these things had thrown him into, and supplied himself with all things needful.

But my observation was this, had his Majesty had the magazines, navy and forts in his own hand, the gentry, who wanted but the prospect of something to encourage them, had come in at first, and the parliament being unprovided, would have been presently reduced to reason.—But this was it that balked the gentry of *Yorkshire*, who went home again, giving the King good promises, but never appeared for him, till by raising a good army in *Shropshire* and *Wales*, he marched towards *London*, and they saw there was a prospect of being supported.

In this condition the King erected his standard at *Nottingham*, August 22, 1642, and I confess, I had very melancholy apprehensions of the

the King's affairs ; for the appearance to the royal standard was but small. The affront the King had met with at *Hull*, had balked and dispirited the northern gentry, and the King's affairs looked with a very dismal aspect. We had expresses from *London* of the prodigious success of the parliament's levies, how their men came faster than they could entertain them, and that arms were delivered out to whole companies lifted together, and the like. All this while the King had not got together a thousand foot, and had no arms for them neither. When the King saw this, he immediately dispatches five several messengers, whereof one went to the Marquis of *Worcester*, into *Wales* ; one to the Queen, then at *Windsor* ; one to the Duke of *Newcastle*, then Marquis of *Newcastle*, into the north ; one into *Scotland*, and one into *France*, where the Queen soon after arrived to raise money, buy arms, and to get what assistance she could among her own friends : nor was her Majesty idle, for she sent over several ships laden with arms and ammunition, together with a fine train of artillery, and a great many very good officers ; and though one of the first fell into the hands of the parliament, with 300 barrels of powder, some arms and 150 gentlemen, yet most of them found means, one way or other, to get to us, and most of the ships the Queen freighted arrived ; and at last her Majesty came herself and brought an extraordinary supply, both of men, money, arms, &c. with which she joined the King's forces under the Earl of *Newcastle*

Newcastle in the north. Finding his Majesty thus bestirring himself to muster his friends together, I asked him if he thought it might not be for his Majesty's service to let me go among my friends, and his loyal subjects about *Shrewsbury*? Yes, says the King, smiling, I intend you shall, and I design to go with you myself. I did not understand what the King meant then, and did not think it good manners to enquire; but the next day I found all things disposed for a march, and the King on horseback by eight of the clock; when calling me to him, he told me I should go before, and let my father and all my friends know, he would be at *Shrewsbury* the *Saturday* following. I left my equipages, and taking post with only one servant, was at my father's the next morning by break of day. He was not surprised at the news of the King's coming at all; for, it seems, he, together with the loyal gentry of those parts, had sent particularly to give the King an invitation to move that way, which I was not made privy to, with account of what encouragement they had there in the endeavours made for his interest. In short, the whole country were entirely for the King, and such was the universal joy the people shewed when the news of his Majesty's coming down was positively known, that all manner of business were laid aside, and the whole body of the people seemed to be resolved upon the war.

As this gave a new face to the King's affairs, so I must own it filled me with joy; for I was astonished

astonished before, when I considered what the King and his friends were like to be exposed to. The news of the proceedings of the parliament, and their powerful preparations were now no more terrible. The King came at the time appointed, and having lain at my father's house one night, entered *Sbrewsbury* in the morning. The acclamations of the people, the concourse of the nobility and gentry about his person, and the crowds which now came every day to join his standard were incredible.

The loyalty of the *English* gentry was not only worth notice, but their very great power in this matter was extraordinary visible. The King, in about six weeks time (which was the most of his stay at *Sbrewsbury*) was supplied with money, arms, ammunition and a train of artillery, also lifted a body of an army upwards of 20000 men.

His Majesty seeing the general alacrity of his people, immediately issued out commissions and formed regiments of horse and foot; and having some experienced officers about him, together with about sixteen who came from *France*, with a ship loaded with arms and some field-pieces which came very seasonably into the *Severn*; the men were exercised, regularly disciplined and quartered, and now we began to look like soldiers. My father had raised a regiment of horse at his own charge, and completed them, and the King gave out arms to them from the supplies which I mentioned came from abroad. Another party of horse, all brave stout fellows,
well

well mounted, came in from *Lancashire*, and the Earl of *Derby* at the head of them. The *Welchmen* came in by droves; and so great were the concourse of people, that the King began to think of marching, and gave the command, as well as the trust of regulating the army, to the brave Earl of *Lindsey*, as general of the foot. The parliament general being the Earl of *Essex*, two braver men, or two better officers, were not in the kingdom; they had both been old soldiers, and had served together as volunteers, in the low country wars, under Prince *Maurice*. They had been comrades and companions abroad, and now came to face one another as enemies in the field.

Such was the expedition used by the King and his friends in the levies of this first army, that notwithstanding the wonderful expedition the parliament made, the King was in the field before them; and now the gentry in other parts of the nation bestirred themselves, and seized upon and garrisoned several considerable places for the King. In the north, the Earl of *Newcastle* not only garrisoned the most considerable places, but even the general possession of the north were for the King, excepting *Hull* and some few places, which the old Lord *Fairfax* had taken up for the parliament. On the other hand, *Cornwall* entire, and most of the western counties were the King's.

The parliament had their chief interest in the south and eastern parts of *England*; as *Kent*, *Surry* and *Sussex*; *Essex*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*,

bridge, Bedford, Huntingdon, Hertford, Buckinghamshire, and the other midland counties. These were called, or some of them at least, the associated counties, and felt little of the war, other than the charges; but the main support of the parliament was the city of *London*. The King made the seat of his court at *Oxford*, which he caused to be regularly fortified. The Lord *Sey* had been here, and had possession of the city for the enemy, and was debating about fortifying it, but came to no resolution, which was a very great oversight in them; the situation of the place and the importance of it, on many accounts, to the city of *London*, considered. They would have retrieved this error afterward, but then it was too late, for the King made it the head quarters, received great supplies and assistance from the wealth of the colleges, and the plenty of the neighbouring country. *Abingdon, Wallingford, Basing* and *Reading*, were all garri- soned and fortified as outworks to defend this as the centre. And thus all *England* became the theatre of blood, and war was spread into every corner of the country, though as yet there was no stroke struck.

I had no command in this army; my father led his own regiment, and old as he was, would not leave his royal master, and my elder brother staid at home to support the family. As for me, I rode a volunteer in the royal troop of guards, which may very well deserve that title, being composed of young gentlemen, sons of the nobility and prime gentlemen of the nation,

and I think not a person of so mean a birth or fortune as myself. We reckoned in this troop thirty-two lords, or who came afterward to be such, thirty-eight younger sons of the nobility, five *French* noblemen, and the rest gentlemen of very good families and estates.

And that I may give the due to their personal valour, many of this troop lived to have regiments and troops under their command, in the service of the King; many of them lost their lives for him, and most of them their estates: nor did they behave unworthy of themselves in their first shewing their faces to the enemy, as shall be mentioned in its place.

While the King remained at *Shrewsbury*, his loyal friends bestirred themselves in several parts of the kingdom. *Goring* had secured *Portsmouth*; but being young in matters of war, and not in time relieved, though the Marquis of *Hertford* was marching to relieve him, yet he was obliged to quit the place, and shipped himself for *Holland*, from whence he returned with relief for the King, and afterward did very good service upon all occasions, and very effectually cleared himself of the scandal the hasty surrender of *Portsmouth* had brought upon him.

The chief power of the King's forces lay in three places, *Cornwall*, *Yorkshire* and at *Shrewsbury*.—In *Cornwall*, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, afterward Lord *Hopton*; Sir *Bevil Granvil* and Sir *Nicholas Slamming*, secured all the country, and afterward spread themselves over *Devonshire* and *Somersetshire*; took *Exeter* from the parliament, fortified

fortified *Bridgwater* and *Barnstable*, and beat Sir *William Waller* at the battle of *Roundway Down*, which I shall touch at more particularly when I come to recite the part of my own travels that way.

In the north, the Marquis of *Newcastle* secured all the country, garrisoned *York*, *Scarborough*, *Carlisle*, *Newcastle*, *Pontefract*, *Leeds*, and all the considerable places; took the field with a very good army, though afterward he proved more unsuccessful than the rest, having the whole power of a kingdom at his back, the Scots coming in with an army to the assistance of the parliament; which indeed was the general turn of the scale of the war; for had it not been for this *Scots* army, the King had most certainly reduced the parliament, at least to good terms of peace, in two years time.

The King was the third article. His force at *Sherbourn* I have noted already; the alacrity of the gentry filled him with hopes, and all his army with vigour, and the 8th of *October*, 1642, his Majesty gave orders to march. The Earl of *Essex* had spent above a month after his leaving *London* (for he went from thence the 10th of *September*) in modelling and drawing together his forces; his rendezvous was at *St. Alban's*, from whence he marched to *Northampton*, *Coventry* and *Warwick*, leaving garrisons in them, he comes on to *Worcester*. Being thus advanced, he possesses *Oxford*, as I noted before, *Canbury*, *Bristol*, *Gloucester* and *Worcester*, out of

of all which places, except *Gloucester*, we drove him back to *London* in a very little while.

Sir *John Byron* had raised a very good party of 500 horse, mostly gentlemen, for the King, and had possessed *Oxford*; but on the approach of the Lord *Say* quitted it, being now but an open town, and retreated to *Worcester*: from whence, on the approach of *Essex's* army, he retreated to the King. And now all things grew ripe for action, both parties having secured their posts and settled their schemes of the war, taken their posts and places as their measures and opportunities directed, the field was next in their eye, and the soldiers began to enquire when they should fight; for as yet there had been little or no blood drawn, but it was not long before they had enough of it; for I believe I may challenge all the historians in *Europe* to tell me of any war in the world where, in the space of four years, there were so many pitched battles, sieges, fights and skirmishes, as in this war; we never encamped or entrenched, never fortified the avenues to our posts, or lay fenced with rivers and defiles; here was no leaguers in the field, as at the story of *Nuremberg*, neither had our soldiers any tents, or what they call heavy baggage. It was the general maxim of this war, where is the enemy? Let us go and fight them: or, on the other hand, if the enemy were coming, what was to be done? Why, what should be done? Draw out into the fields and fight them. I cannot say it was prudence of the parties, and had the King fought less

less he had gained more : and I shall remark several times, when the eagerness of fighting was the worst counsel, and proved our loss. This benefit however happened in general to the country, that it made a quick, though a bloody end of the war, which otherwise had lasted till it might have ruined the whole nation.

On the 10th of *October* the King's army were in full march, his Majesty generalissimo, the Earl of *Lindsey* general of the foot, Prince *Rupert* general of the horse ; and the first action in the field was by Prince *Rupert* and Sir *John Byron*. Sir *John* had brought his body of 500 horse, as noted already, from *Oxford* to *Worcester* ; the Lord *Say*, with a strong party, being in the neighbourhood of *Oxford* and expected in the town, Colonel *Sandys*, a hot man, who had more courage than judgment, advances with about 1500 horse and dragoons, with design to beat Sir *John Byron* out of *Worcester*, and take possession there for the parliament.

The King had notice that the Earl of *Essex* was designed for *Worcester*, and Prince *Rupert* was ordered to advance with a body of horse and dragoons to face the enemy, and bring off Sir *John Byron*. This his Majesty did to amuse the Earl of *Essex*, that he might expect him that way ; whereas the King's design was to get between the Earl of *Essex's* army and the city of *London* ; and his Majesty's end was doubly answered, for he not only drew *Essex* on to *Worcester*, where he spent more time than he needed, but he beat the party into the bargain,

I went volunteer in this party, and rode in my father's regiment; for though we really expected not to see the enemy, yet I was tired with lying still. We came to *Worcester* just as notice was brought to Sir *John Byron*, that a party of the enemy were on the march for that place, upon which the Prince immediately consulting what was to be done, resolves to march the next morning and fight them.

The enemy, who lay at *Perthore*, about eight miles from *Worcester*, and, as I believe, had no notice of our march, came on very confidently in the morning, and found us fairly drawn up to receive them. I must confess, this was the bluntest downright way of making war that ever was seen. The enemy, who, in all the little knowledge I had of war, ought to have discovered our numbers, and guessed by our posture what our design was, might easily have informed themselves, that we intended to attack them, and so might have secured the advantage of a bridge in their front; but without any regard to these methods of policy, they came on at all hazards. Upon this notice, my father proposed to the Prince, to halt for them, and suffer ourselves to be attacked, since we found them willing to give us the advantage. The Prince approved of the advice, so we halted within view of a bridge, leaving space enough on our front for about half the number of their forces to pass and draw up; and at the bridge was posted about 50 dragoons, with orders to retire as soon as the enemy advanced, as if they had been afraid.

On

the right of the road was a ditch, and a very high bank behind, where we had placed 300 dragoons, with orders to lie flat on their faces till the enemy had passed the bridge, and to let them pass among them as soon as our trumpets sounded charge. Nobody but Colonel *Sandys* would have been caught in such a snare; for he might easily have seen, that when he was over the bridge, there was not room enough for him to retreat: but the Lord of Hosts was so much in their mouths (for that was the word for that day) that they took little heed how to conduct the host of the Lord to their advantage.

As we expected, they appeared, beat our dragoons from the bridge, and passed it: we stood in one line with a reserve and expected a charge; but Colonel *Sandys* shewing a great deal more judgment than we thought he was master of, extends himself to the left, finding the ground too strait, and began to form his troops with a great deal of readiness and skill; for at this time he saw our number was greater than he expected. The Prince perceiving it, foreseeing that the stratagem of the dragoons at the same time standing upon their feet, pouring in their shot upon those that were passing the bridge: this surprise put them into such disorder, that we had but little work with them; though Colonel *Sandys* with the troops next to him sustained the shock very well, and behaved himself gallantly enough, yet the confusion arising in their rear, those that had not yet passed the bridge were kept by the fire of the dragoons,

dragoons, and the rest were easily cut in pieces. Colonel *Sandys* was mortally wounded and taken prisoner, and the crowd was so great to get back that many pushed into the water, and were rather smothered than drowned. Some of those who never came into the fight, were so frightened they never looked behind them, till they came to *Pershore*; as we were afterward informed, the life-guards of the general who had quartered in the town, left it in disorder enough, expecting us at the heels of their men.

If our business had been to keep the parliament army from coming to *Worcester*, we had a very good opportunity to have secured the bridge at *Pershore*; but our design lay another way, as I have said, and the King was for drawing *Essex* on to the *Severn*, in hopes to get behind him, which fell out accordingly.

Essex, spurred by this affront in the infancy of their affairs, advances the next day, and came to *Pershore* time enough to be at the funeral of some of his men; and from thence he advances to *Worcester*. We marched back to *Worcester* extremely pleased with the good success of our first attack; and our men were so flushed with this little victory, that it put vigour into the whole army. The enemy lost about 3000 men, and we carried away near 150 prisoners, with 500 horses, some standards and arms, and among the prisoners their colonel, but he died a little after of his wounds.

Upon the approach of the enemy, *Worcester* was quitted, and the forces marched back to
join

in the King's army which lay then at *Bridg-
rth, Ludlow* and thereabout. As the King
pected it fell out; *Essex* found so much work
Worcester to fettle parliament quarters, and
cure *Bristol, Gloucester* and *Hereford*, that it
ve the King a full day's march of him; so the
ing having the start, moves towards *London*;
d *Essex*, nettled to be both beaten in fight and
edone in conduct, decamps and follows the
ing.

The parliament, and the *Londoners* too, were
a strange consternation at this mistake of their
eneral; and had the King, whose great mis-
fortune was always to follow precipitant advices,
ashed on his first design, which he had formed
ith very good reason; and for which he had
een dodging with *Essex* eight or ten days, *viz.*
marching directly to *London*, where he had a
ery great interest, and where his friends were
at oppressed and impoverished, as they after-
ard were, he had turned the scale of his affairs.
very man expected it, and the members began
shift for themselves, expresses were sent on
he heels of one another to the Earl of *Essex*, to
asten after the King, and if possible to bring
im to a battle. Some of these letters fell into
ur hands, and we might easily discover, that
he parliament were in the last confusion at the
oughts of our coming to *London*: beside this,
he city were in a worse fright than the house,
nd the great moving men began to go out of
own. In short, they expected us, and we ex-
pected

pected to come, but Providence, for our ruin had otherwise determined it.

Essex, upon news of the King's march, and upon receipt of the parliament's letters, made long marches after us, and on the 23d of *October*, reaches the village of *Keynton* in *Warwickshire*. The King was almost as far as *Banbury*, and there calls a council of war. Some of the old officers that foresaw the advantage the King had, the concern the city were in, and the vast addition both to the reputation of his forces, and the increase of interest it would be, if the King could gain that point, urged his Majesty to march on to *London*. Prince *Rupert*, and the fresh colonels pressed for fighting, told the King it dispirited the men to march with the enemy at their heels; that the parliament army were inferior to him by 6000 men, and fatigued with hasty marching; that their orders were to fight, he had nothing to do, but to post himself to advantage, and receive them to their destruction; that the action near *Worcester* had let him know how easy it was to deal with a rebel enemy; and that it was a dishonour for him whose forces were so much superior, to be pursued by his subjects in rebellion. These and like arguments prevailed with the King to his wiser measures and resolve to fight. It was this all, when a resolution of fighting taken, that part of the advice which they were for fighting gave, as a reason for the union was forgot, and instead of halting, posting ourselves to advantage till the

ae up, we were ordered to march back, and
at them.

Nay, so eager was the Prince for fighting,
t when from the top of *Edgehill*, the enemy's
y were descried at the bottom between them
the village of *Keynton*, and that the enemy
l bid us defiance, by discharging three can-
is, we accepted the challenge, and answer-
with two shot from our army, we must needs
take the advantages of the hills, which they
ft have mounted under the command of our
non, and march down to them into the plain.
onfess, I thought here was a great deal more
lantry than discretion; for it was plainly
ing an advantage out of our own hands, and
ting it into the hands of the enemy. An
emy that must fight, may always be fought
th to advantage. My old hero, the glorious
flavus Adolphus, was as forward to fight as
man of true valour mixt with any policy
d be; or ought to be; but he used to say,
An enemy reduced to a necessity of fighting,
re half beaten."

It is true, we were all but young in the war;
soldiers hot and forward, and eagerly desired
come to hands with the enemy. But I take
more notice of it here, because the King in
s acted against his own measures; for it was
King himself that had laid the design of get-
g the start of *Effex*, and marching to *London*.
s friends had invited and expected him there,
l suffered deeply for the omission; yet he gave
y to these hasty counsels, and suffered his
judgment

judgment to be over-ruled by majority of voices; an error, I say, the King of *Sweden* was never guilty of: for if all the officers at a council of war were of a different opinion, yet unless their reasons mastered his judgment, their votes never altered his measures. This was the error of our good, but unfortunate master, three times in this war, and particularly in two of the greatest battles of the time, viz. this of *Edgehill*, and that of *Naseby*.

The resolution for fighting being published in the army, gave an universal joy to the soldiers, who expressed an extraordinary ardour for fighting. I remember, my father talking with me about it, asked me what I thought of the approaching battle. I told him, I thought the King had done very well; for at that time I did not consult the extent of the design, and had a mighty mind, like other rash people, to see it brought to a day, which made me answer my father as I did: "but, Sir (said I) I doubt there will be but indifferent doings on both sides, between two armies made up of fresh men, that have never seen any service." My father minded little what I spoke of that; but when I seemed pleased that the King had resolved to fight, he looked angrily at me, and told me he was sorry I could see no farther into things. "I tell you (says he, hastily) if the King should kill and take prisoners this whole army, general and all, the parliament will have the victory; for we have lost more by slipping this opportunity of getting into *London*, than we shall ever

ever get by ten battles." I saw enough of this afterward to convince me of the weight of what my father said, and so did the King too ; but it was then too late, advantages let go in war are never recovered.

We were now in full march to fight the Earl of *Essex*. It was on *Sunday* morning the 24th of *October*, 1642, fair weather over our head, but the ground very heavy and dirty. As soon as we came to the top of *Edgehill*, we discovered their whole army. They were not drawn up, having had two miles to march that morning ; but they were very busy forming their lines and posting their regiments as they came up. Some of their horse were exceedingly fatigued, having marched 48 hours together ; and had they been offered to follow us three or four days march farther, several of their regiments of horse would have been quite ruined, and their foot would have been rendered unserviceable for the present : but we had no patience.

As soon as our whole army were come to the top of the hill, we were drawn up in order of battle. The King's army made a very fine appearance ; and indeed they were a body of gallant men as ever appeared in the field, and as well furnished at all points. The horse exceeding well accoutred, being most of them gentlemen and volunteers ; some whole regiments serving without pay. Their horses very good and fit for service as could be desired. The whole army were not above 18000 men, and the enemy not above 1000 over or under, tho' we

we had been told they were not above 12000; but they had been reinforced with 4000 men from *Northampton*.

The King was with the general, the Earl of *Lindsey*, in the main battle; Prince *Rupert* commanded the right wing, and the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Lord *Willoughby*, and several other very good officers, the left.—The signal of battle being given with two cannon, we marched in order of battalia down the hill, being drawn up in two lines with bodies of reserve; the enemy advanced to meet us much in the same form, with this difference only, that they had placed their cannon on the right, and the King had placed ours in the centre before, or rather between two great brigades of foot. Their cannon began with us first, and did some mischief among the dragoons of our left wing; but our officers perceiving the shot took the men, and missed the horses, ordered all to alight, every man leading his horse to advance in the same order; and this saved our men, for most of the enemy's shot flew over their heads. Our cannon made a terrible execution upon their foot for a quarter of an hour, and put them into great confusion, till the general obliged them to halt and changed the posture of his front, marching round a small rising ground by which he avoided the fury of our artillery.

By this time the wings were engaged, the King having given the signal of battle, and ordered the right wing to fall on. Prince *Rupert* who as is said, commanded that wing, fell on with

such fury, and pushed the left wing of the
 ment army so effectually, that in a moment
 ed all with terror and confusion. Com-
 y General *Ramsay*, a *Scotchman*, a low
 ry soldier and an experienced officer, com-
 ed their left wing; and though he did all
 n expert soldier and a brave commander
 do, yet it was to no purpose; his lines
 immediately broken and overwhelmed in
 e. Two regiments of foot, whether as
 f the left wing or on the left of the main
 I know not, were disordered by their
 horse, and rather trampled to death by the
 , than beaten by our men; but they were
 irely broken and disordered, that I do not
 nber they ever made one volly upon our
 for their own horses running away, and
 ; foul on these foot, were so vigorously
 ed by our men, that the foot never had a
 nt to rally or look behind them. The
 of the left wing of horse were not so soon
 n as the rest, and three regiments of them
 firm for some time. The dexterous offi-
 f the other regiments taking the opportu-
 rallied a great many of their scattered men
 d them, and pieced in some troops with
 regiments; but after two or three charges,
 a brigade of our second line following the
 e, made upon them, they also were broken
 the rest.

remember, that at the great battle of *Leip-*
 the right wing of the *Imperialists* having
 in upon the *Saxons* with like fury to this,
 bore

bore down all before them, and beat the *Saxons* quite out of the field; upon which the soldiers cried, "Victoria, let us follow." "No, no," (said the old General *Tilly*) let them go, and let us beat the *Swedes* too, then all is our own." Had Prince *Rupert* taken this method, and instead of following the fugitives, who were dispersed so effectually, that two regiments would have secured them from rallying; I say, had he fallen in upon the foot, or wheeled to the left, and fallen in upon the rear of the enemy's right wing of horse, or returned to the assistance of the left wing of our horse, we had gained the most absolute and complete victory that could be; nor had 1000 men of the enemy's army got off: but this Prince, who was full of fire, and pleased to see the rout of the enemy, pursued them quite to the town of *Keynton*, where indeed he killed abundance of their men, and some time was lost also in plundering the baggage: but in the mean time, the glory and advantage of the day was lost to the King; for the right wing of the parliament's horse could not be broken in that manner.

Sir *William Balfour* made a desperate charge upon the point of the King's left; and had it not been for two regiments of dragoons who were planted in the reserve, had routed the whole wing; for he broke through the first line, and staggered the second, who advanced to their assistance, but was so warmly received by those dragoons, who came seasonably in, and gave their first fire on horseback, that his fury was checked,

checked, and having lost a great many men, was forced to wheel about to his own men; and had the King had three regiments of horse at hand to have charged him he had been routed. The rest of this wing kept their ground, and received the first fury of the enemy with great firmness; after which, advancing in their turn, they were once masters of the Earl of *Essex's* cannon. And here we lost another advantage; for if any foot had been at hand to support these horse, they had carried off the cannon, or turned it upon the main battle of the enemy's foot; but the foot were otherwise engaged. The horse on this side fought with great obstinacy, and variety of success a great while. Sir *Philip Szapylton*, who commanded the guards of the Earl of *Essex*, being engaged with a party of our *Shrewsbury* cavaliers, as we called them, was once in a fair way to have been cut off by a brigade of our foot, who being advanced to fall on upon the parliament's main body, flanked Sir *Philip's* horse in their way, and facing to the left, so furiously charged him with their pikes, that he was obliged to retire in great disorder, and with the loss of a great number of men and horses.

All this while the foot on both sides were desperately engaged, and coming close up to the teeth of one another, with the clubbed musquet and push of pike, fought with great resolution, and a terrible slaughter on both sides, giving no quarter for a great while; and they continued to do thus, till, as if they were tired and out

of wind, each party seemed willing enough to leave off and take breath. Those which suffered most were that brigade which had charged Sir *William Stapylton's* horse, who being bravely engaged in the front, the enemy's foot were, on a sudden, charged again in front and flank, by Sir *William Balfour's* horse, and disordered, after a very desperate defence. Here the King's standard was taken, the standard bearer, Sir *Edward Varney*, being killed; but it was rescued again by Captain *Smith*, and brought to the King the same night, for which his Majesty knighted the captain.

This brigade of foot had fought all the day, and had not been broken at last, if any horse had been at hand to support them. The field began to be now clear, both armies stood, as it were, gazing at one another, only the King, having rallied his foot, seemed inclined to renew the charge, and began to cannonade them, which they could not return, most of their cannon being nailed while they were in our possession, and all the cannoncers killed or fled, and our gunners did execution upon Sir *William Balfour's* troops for a good while.

My father's regiment being in the right with the Prince, I saw little of the fight, but the rout of the enemy's left, and we had as full a victory there as we could desire, but too much time in it; we killed about 2000 men in that part of the action, and having totally dispersed them and plundered their baggage, began to think of our friends when it was too late to help

Help them. We returned however victorious to
 the King, just as the battle was over; the King
 asked the Prince what news? He told him he
 could give his Majesty a good account of the
 enemy's horse; "ay, by G—d, says a gentle-
 man that stood by me, and of their carts too."
 That word was spoken with such a sense of the
 misfortune, and made such an impression in the
 whole army, that it occasioned some ill blood
 afterward among us; but the King took up the
 business, or it had been of ill consequence; for
 some person who had heard the gentleman speak
 it, informed the Prince who it was, and the
 Prince resenting it, spoke something of in the
 hearing of the party when the King was present:
 the gentleman, not at all surprised, told his
 Highness openly, he had said the words; and
 though he owned he had no disrespect for his
 Highness, yet he could not but say, if it had
 not been so, the enemy's army had been better
 beaten. The Prince replied something very dis-
 obliging; upon which the gentleman came up
 to the King, and kneeling, humbly besought
 his Majesty to accept of his commission, and to
 give him leave to tell the Prince, that whenever
 his Highness pleased, he was ready to give him
 satisfaction. The Prince was exceedingly pro-
 voked, and as he was very passionate, began to
 talk very oddly, and without all government of
 himself. The gentleman, as bold as he, but
 much calmer, preserved his temper but main-
 tained his quarrel; and the King was so con-
 cerned, that he was very much out of humour
 with the Prince about it. However, his Ma-
 jesty

jeſty upon conſideration, ſoon ended the diſpute, by laying his commands on them both to ſpeak no more of it for that day ; and reſuſing the commiſſion from the colonel, for he was no leſs, ſent for them both next morning in private, and made them friends again.

But to return to our ſtory, we came back to the King time enough to put the Earl of *Effex's* men out of all humour of renewing the fight ; and as I obſerved before, both parties ſtood gazing at one another, and our cannon playing upon them, obliged Sir *William Balfour's* horſe to wheel off in ſome diſorder, but they returned us none again ; which, as we afterward underſtood, was, as I ſaid before, for want of both powder and gunners ; for the cannoneers and firemen were killed, or had quitted their train in the fight, when our horſe had poſſeſſion of their artillery ; and as they had spiked up ſome of the cannon, ſo they had carried away 15 carriages of powder.

Night coming on, ended all diſcourſe of more fighting ; and the King drew off and marched towards the hills. I know no other token of victory which the enemy had, than their lying in the field of battle all night, which they did for no other reaſon, than that having loſt their baggage and proviſions, they had nowhere to go ; and which we did not, becauſe we had good quarters at hand.

The number of priſoners, and of the ſlain, were not very equal ; the enemy loſt more men, we moſt of quality. Six thouſand men on both ſides

Edes were killed on the spot; whereof, when
our rolls were examined, we missed 2500. We
lost our brave general the old Earl of *Lindsey*,
who was wounded and taken prisoner, and died
of his wounds; Sir *Edward Stradling*, Colonel
Lundsford, prisoners; and Sir *Edward Varney*,
and a great many gentlemen of quality slain.—
On the other hand, we carried off Colonel *Es-*
sex, Colonel *Ramsay*, and the Lord St. *John*,
who also died of his wounds; we took five am-
munition waggons full of powder, and brought
off about 500 horse in the defeat of the left
wing, with eighteen standards and colours, and
lost seventeen.

The slaughter of the left wing was so great,
and the flight so effectual, that several of the
officers rode clear away, coasting round, and
got to *London*, where they reported, that the
parliament army were entirely defeated, all lost,
killed or taken, as if none but them were left
alive to carry the news. This filled them with
consternation for awhile; but when other mes-
sengers followed, all was restored to quiet again,
and the parliament cried up their victory, and
sufficiently mocked God and their general with
their public thanks for it. Truly, as the fight
was a deliverance to them, they were in the
right to give thanks for it; but as to its being
a victory, neither side had much to boast of, and
they less a great deal than we had.

I got no hurt in this fight; and indeed we of
 the right wing had but little fighting; I think
 I discharged my pistols but once and my carabin
 twice.

twice, for we had more fatigue than fight; the enemy fled, and we had little to do but to follow and kill those we could overtake. I spoiled a good horse, but got a better from the enemy in his room, and came home weary enough. My father lost his horse, and in the fall was bruised in his thigh by another horse treading on him, which disabled him for some time, and, at his request, by his Majesty's consent, I commanded the regiment in his absence.

The enemy received a recruit of 4000 men the next morning; if they had not, I believe they would have gone back towards *Worcester*; but, encouragement by that reinforcement, they called a council of war, and had a long debate whether they could attack us again? But notwithstanding their great victory, they durst not attempt it, though this addition of strength made them superier to us by 3000 men.

The King indeed expected, that when these troops joined them they would advance, and we were preparing to receive them at a village called *Aino*, where the head quarters continued three or four days; and had they really esteemed the first day's work a victory, as they called it, they would have done it, but thought not good to venture, but march away to *Warwick*, and from thence to *Coventry*. The King, to urge them to venture upon him, and come to a second battle, sits down before *Banbury*, and takes both town and castle; and two entire regiments of foot and one troop of horse quitted parliament's service, and took up their arms for the King.

This

is was done almost before their faces, which is a better proof of a victory on our side, than they could pretend to. From *Banbury* we marched to *Oxford*; and now all men saw the parliament had made a great mistake (for they are not always in the right any more than we) to leave *Oxford* without a garrison. The King ordered new regular works to be drawn round it, seven royal bastions with ravelins and outworks, a double ditch, counterscarp and covered way; all which added to the advantage of situation, made it a formidable place, and in this time it became our place of arms, and centre of affairs on the King's side.

If the parliament had the honour of the field, the King reaped the fruits of the victory; for this part of the country submitted to him. *Essex's* army made the best of their way to *London*, and were but in an ill condition when they were there, especially their horse.

The parliament sensible of this, and receiving daily accounts of the progress we made, began to cool a little in their temper, abated of their rage, and voted an address for peace; and sent to the King, to let him know they were desirous to prevent the effusion of more blood, to bring things to an accommodation, or, they called it, "a right understanding."

It was now, by the King's particular favour, summoned to the councils of war, my father continuing absent and ill; and now I began to look of the real grounds, and which was more, the fatal issue of the war. I say, I now began;

gan; for I cannot say that I ever rightly settled matters in my own mind before, though I had been enough used to blood, and to see the destruction of the people, sacking of towns, plundering the country, in *Germany*, and among strangers; I found a strange secret and unaccountable sadness upon my spirits to see this acting in my own native country. It grieved me to the heart, even in the rout of our enemies to see the slaughter of them; and even in the fight, to hear a man cry for quarter in *English*, moved me to a compassion which I had never been used to; nay, sometimes it looked to me as if some of my own men had been beaten; and when I heard a soldier cry, "O God! I am shot," I looked behind me to see which of my own troop was fallen. Here I saw myself the cutting of the throats of my friends; and indeed some of my near relations. My old comrades and fellow soldiers in *Germany* were some with us, some against us, as their opinions happened to differ in religion. For my part, I confessed I had not much religion in me at that time; but I thought religion rightly practised on both sides would have made us all better friends; and therefore sometimes began to think, that both the bishops of our side, and the preachers of theirs, made religion rather the pretence than the cause of the war; and from those thoughts I vigorously argued it at the council of war, against marching to *Brentford*, while the address for a treaty of peace from the parliament was in hand; for I was for taking the parliament

the handle which they had given us, and entering into a negociation with the advantage of its being at their own request.

I thought the King had now in his hands an opportunity to make an honourable peace; for this battle at *Edgehill*, as much as they boasted of the victory to hearten up their friends, had sorely weakened their army, and discouraged their party too. The horse were particularly in an ill case, the foot greatly diminished, and the remainder very sickly: but, beside this, the parliament were greatly alarmed at the progress we made afterward; and still fearing the King's surprizing them, had sent for the Earl of *Essex* to *London*, to defend them; by which the country were, as it were, deserted and abandoned, and left to be plundered; our parties run over all places at pleasure. All this while I considered, that whatever the soldiers of fortune meant by the war, our desires were to suppress the exorbitant power of a party, to establish our King in his just and legal rights; but not with a design to destroy the constitution of government, and the being of parliament; and therefore, I thought now was the time for peace, and there were a great many worthy gentlemen in the army of my opinion; and had our master had ears to have heard, the war might have had an end here.

This address for peace was received by the King at *Maidenhead*, whither this army were now advanced, and his Majesty returned answer by Sir *Peter Killigrew*, that he desired nothing

E e more

more, and would not be wanting on his
 Upon this, the parliament named commissio
 and his Majesty excepting against Sir *John*
lyn, they left him out, and sent others; de
 the King to appoint his residence near *Lo*
 where the commissioners might wait upon
 Accordingly the King appointed *Windsor*
 the place of treaty, and desired it might be l
 ened. Thus all things looked with a favo
 ble aspect, when one unlucky action kno
 it all on the head, and filled both parties
 more implacable animosity than they had be
 and all hopes of peace vanished.

During this progress of the King's armies
 were always abroad with the horse ravaging
 country and plundering the roundheads. *Pr*
Rupert, a most active, vigilant party-man,
 I must own, fitter for such than a general,
 never lying still, and I seldom stayed behi
 for our regiment being very well mounted,
 would always send for us, if he had any ex
 ordinary design in hand.

One time in particular, he had a design u
Alisbury, the capital of *Buckinghamshire*; inc
 our view at first was rather to beat the ene
 out of the town, demolish their works and
 haps raise some contributions from the rich co
 try round it, than to garrison the place and k
 it; for we wanted no more garrisons, be
 masters of the field.

The Prince had 2500 horse with him in
 expedition, but no foot; the town had s
 foot raised in the country by Mr. *Hambden*,

Two regiments of the country militia, whom we made light of, but we found they stood to their tackle better than *well enough*. We came very early to the town, and thought they had no notice of us; but some false brother had given the alarm and we found them all in arms, the hedges without the town lined with musqueteers, on that side in particular where they expected us, and the two regiments of foot drawn up in view to support them, with some horse in the rear of all.

The Prince willing however to do something, caused some of his horse to alight, and serve as dragoons; and having broken a way into the inclosures, the horse beat the foot from behind the hedges, while the rest who were alighted charged them in the lane which leads to the town. Here they had cast up some works, and fired from their lines very regularly, considering them as militia only, the governor encouraging them by his example; so that finding without some foot there would no good be done, we gave it over, and drew off; and so *Alisbury* escaped a scouring for that time.

I cannot deny but these flying parties of horse committed great spoil among the country people; and sometimes the Prince gave a liberty to some cruelties which were not at all for the King's interest; because it being still upon our own country, and the King's own subjects, whom, in all his declarations, he protested to be careful of. It seemed to contradict all those protestations and declarations, and served to aggravate

gravate and exasperate the common people ; and the King's enemies made all the advantages of it that was possible, by crying out twice as many extravagancies as were committed.

It is true, the King, who naturally abhorred such things, could not restrain his men, nor his generals, so absolutely as he would have done. The war, on his side, was very much *a la volunteer* ; many gentlemen served him at their own charge, and some paid whole regiments themselves. Sometimes also the King's affairs were straiter than ordinary, and his men not being very well paid, obliged him to wink at their excursions upon the country, though he did not approve of them ; and yet, I must own, that in those parts of *England* where the war were hottest, there never were seen that ruin and depopulation, murders, ravishments and barbarities, which I have seen even among protestant armies abroad in *Germany*, and other foreign parts of the world. And if the parliament had seen those things abroad, as I had, they would not have complained.

The most I saw was plundering the towns for provisions, drinking up their beer, turning our horses into their fields or stacks of corn, and, sometimes, the soldiers would be a little rude with the wenches ; but, alas ! what was this compared with Count *Tilly's* ravages in *Saxony* ? Or what was our taking of *Leicester* by storm, where they cried out of our barbarities, to the sacking of *New Brandenburg*, or the taking of *Magdenburgh* ? In *Leicester*, of 7 or 8000 people

ple in the town, 300 were killed; in *Magdenburgh*, of 25000, scarce 2700 were left, and the whole town burnt to ashes. I myself, have seen 16 or 18 villages on fire in a day, and the people driven away from their dwellings, like herds of cattle; the men murdered, the women stripped, and, 7 or 8000 of them together, after they had suffered all the indignities and abuses of the soldiers, driven stark naked in the winter through the great towns, to seek shelter and relief from the charity of their enemies. I do not instance these greater barbarities to justify lesser actions, which are nevertheless irregular; but I do say, that circumstances considered, this war was managed with as much humanity on both sides as could be expected, especially considering also the animosity of parties.

But to return to the Prince, he had not always the same success in these enterprizes, for sometimes we came short home. I cannot omit one pleasant adventure which happened to a party of ours in one of these excursions into *Buckinghamshire*. The major of our regiment was soundly beaten by a party which, I may say, were led by a woman; and, if I had not rescued him, I know not but he had been taken prisoner by that woman. It seems our men had besieged some fortified house about *Oxfordshire*, towards *Tame*, and the house being defended by the lady in her husband's absence, she had yielded the house upon a capitulation; one of the articles of which was, to march out with all her servants, soldiers and goods, and to be conveyed

to *Tame*: whether she thought to have gone farther, or that she reckoned herself safe the I know not; but my major, with two troops of horse meets with this lady and her party, about five miles from *Tame*, as we were coming back from our defeated attack at *Alisbury*. We reckoned ourselves in an enemy's country, and had lived a little at large, or at discretion (as it is called abroad) and these two troops, with the major, were returning to our detachment from a little village, where, at a farmer's house, they had met with some liquor, and truly, some of his men were so drunk they could but just upon their horses. The major himself was not much better, and the whole body were but in a sorry condition to fight. Upon the road they met this party; the lady having no design of fighting, and being as she thought under the protection of the articles, sounds a parley, and desired to speak to the officer. The major, drunk as he was, could tell her, that by the articles she was to be insured no farther than *Tame*, and being now five miles beyond it, she was a fair enemy, and therefore demanded to render themselves prisoners. The lady seemed surprised, but being sensible she was in the wrong, offered to compound for her goods, and would have given him 300*l.* and, I think, seven or eight horses. The major would certainly have taken it, had he not been drunk; but he refused, gave threatening words to her, and blustered in language which he thought certainly would fright a woman, *viz.* "that he would cut the

pieces, and give no quarter," and the like. The lady, who had been more used to the smell of powder than he imagined, called some of her servants to her, and consulting with them what to do, they all unanimously encouraged her to join the fight; told her, it was plain the commander was drunk, and all that were with him were rather worse than him, and hardly able to manage their horses; and that therefore one bold stroke would put them all into confusion. They all consented, and, as a woman, they desired to secure herself among the waggons; but she refused, and told them, bravely, she would share her fate with them. In short, she boldly declared the major defiance, and that he might do worst, since she had offered him fair, and he had refused it; her mind was altered now, she would give him nothing, and bade his officers what parlied longer with her, be gone, so the matter ended.

After this, she gave him fair leave to go back to his men; but before he could tell his tale to her, she was at his heels, with all her men, and gave him such a home charge as put his ranks into disorder; and, being too drunk to stand, they were knocked down before they knew what to do with themselves; and, in a few minutes more, they took to a plain flight. But it was still worse, the men, being some of them very drunk, when they came to run for their lives, fell over one another, tumbled over their horses, and made such work, that a troop of women might have beaten them all. In this pickle,

pickle, with the enemy at his heels; I came in with him, hearing the noise; when I appeared the pursuers retreated; and, seeing what condition my people were in, and not knowing the strength of the enemy, I contented myself with bringing them off without pursuing the other; nor could I ever hear positively who this female captain was. We lost 17 or 18 of our men and about thirty of our horses; but when the particulars of the story were told us, our major was so laughed at by the whole army, and every where, that he was ashamed to shew himself for a week or a fortnight after.

But, to return to the King. His Majesty as I observed, was at *Maidenhead*, addressed by the parliament for peace, and *Windsor* being appointed for the place of treaty, the van of his army lay at *Colebrook*. In the mean time, whether it was true, or only a pretence, it was reported the parliament general had sent a body of his troops, with a train of artillery, to *Hammer Smith*, in order to fall upon some part of our army, or to take some advanced post, which was to the prejudice of our men; whereupon the King ordered the army to march, and, by the favour of a thick mist, came within half mile of *Brentford* before he was discovered.

There were two regiments of foot and about 600 horse in the town, of the enemy's troops; these taking the alarm, posted themselves on the bridge at the west end of the town. The King attacked them with a select detachment of his best infantry, and they defended themselves.

themselves with incredible obstinacy. I must own, I never saw raw men (for they could not have been in arms above four months) act like them in my life. In short, there was no forcing these men; for, though two whole brigades of our foot, backed by our horse, made five several attacks upon them, they could not break them, and we lost a great many brave men in the action. At last, seeing their obstinacy, a party of horse were ordered to go round from *Osterly*; and, entering the town on the north side, where, though the horse made some resistance, it was not considerable, the town was presently taken.

I led my regiment through an inclosure, and came into the town nearer to the bridge than the rest, by which means I arrived first; but I had this loss by my expedition, that the foot charged me before the body were come up, and pouring their shot in very furiously, my men were but in an ill case, and would not have stood much longer, if the rest of the horse coming up the lane had not found them other employment. When the horse were thus entered, they immediately dispersed the enemy's horse, who fled away towards *London*, and falling sword in hand upon the rear of the foot, who were engaged at the bridge, they were all cut in pieces, except about 200, who scorning to ask quarter, desperately threw themselves into the river *Thames*, where they were most of them drowned.

The parliament, and their party, made a great outcry at this attempt; that it was base and treacherous

cherous while in a treaty of peace; and that the King, having amused them with hearkening to a treaty, designed to have seized upon their train of artillery first, and, after that, to have surprised both the city of *London* and the parliament. And I have observed since, that our historians note this action as contrary to the laws of honour and treaties; though as there was no cessation of arms agreed on, nothing is more contrary to the laws of war than to suggest it.

That it was a very unhappy thing to the King and whole nation, as it broke off the hopes of peace, and was the occasion of bringing the *Scots* army in upon us, I readily acknowledge; but that there was any thing dishonourable in it, I cannot allow: for, though the parliament had addressed to the King for peace, and such steps were taken in it, as before; yet, as I have said, there were no proposals made on either side for a cessation of arms; and all the world must allow, that in such cases the war goes on in the field, while the peace goes on in the cabinet. And if the war goes on, admit the King had designed to surprise the city or parliament, or all of them, it had been no more than the custom of war allows, and what they would have done by him, if they could.

The treaty of *Westphalia*, or peace of *Munster*, which ended the bloody wars of *Germany*, was a precedent for this. That treaty was actually negotiating seven years, and yet the war went on with all the vigour and rancour imaginable, even to the last: nay, the very time after the conclusion

conclusion of it, but before the news could be brought to the army, did he that was afterward King of Sweden, *Carolus Gustavus*, take the city of *Prague*, by surprise, and therein an inestimable booty. Beside, all the wars of *Europe* are full of examples of this kind; and therefore, I cannot see any reason to blame the King for this action as to its fairness. Indeed for the policy of it, I can say little; but the case was this, the King had a gallant army, flushed with success, and things hitherto had gone on very prosperously, both with his own army and elsewhere: he had above 35000 men in his own army, including his garrisons left at *Banbury*, *Sbrensbury*, *Worcester*, *Oxford*, *Wallingford*, *Abingdon*, *Reading*, and places adjacent. On the other hand, the parliament army came back to *London* in but a very sorry condition;* for what with their loss in *their victory* (as they called it) at *Edgehill*, their sickness, and a hasty march to *London*, they were very much diminished; though at *London* they soon recruited them again. And this prosperity of the King's affairs might encourage him to strike this blow, thinking to bring the parliament to the better terms; by the apprehensions of the superior strength of the King's forces.

But however it was, the success did not equally answer the King's expectation; the vigorous defence

* General *Ludlow*, in his *Memoirs*, p. 52, says, their men returned from *Warwick* to *London*, not like men who had obtained a victory, but like men that had been beaten.

fence the troops posted at *Brentford* made as above, gave the Earl of *Essex* opportunity, with extraordinary application, to draw out his forces out to *Turnham-Green* ; and the exceeding alacrity of the enemy was such, that their whole army appeared with them, making together an army of 24000 men, drawn up in view of our forces, by eight o'clock the next morning. The city regiments were placed between the regular troops, and all together offered us battle, but we were not in condition to accept it. The King indeed was sometimes of the mind to charge them, and once or twice ordered parties to advance to begin to skirmish, but upon better advice, altered his mind ; and indeed it was the wisest counsel to defer the fighting at that time. The parliament generals were as unfixed in their resolutions on the other side, as the King : sometimes they sent out parties, and then called them back again. One strong party, of near 3000 men marched off towards *Acton*, with orders to amuse us on that side, but were countermanded.

Indeed, I was of the opinion, we might have ventured the battle ; for though the parliament's army were more numerous, yet the city trained bands, which made up 4000 of their foot, were not much esteemed, and the King was a great deal stronger in horse than they ; but the main reason that hindered the engagement, was want of ammunition, which the King having duly weighed, he caused the carriages and cannon to draw off first, and then the foot,

Foot, the horse continuing to face the enemy
 till all was clear gone, and then we drew off
 too, and marched to *Kingston*, and the next day
 to *Reading*.

Now the King saw his mistake, in not continuing his march for *London*, instead of facing about to fight the enemy at *Edgehill*. And all the honour we had gained in so many successful enterprises lay buried in this shameful retreat from an army of citizen's wives : for, truly that appearance at *Turnham-Green* was gay, but not great. There were as many lookers on as actors ; the crowds of ladies, 'prentices and mobility were so great, that when the parties of our army advanced, and, as they thought, to charge, the coachmen, horsemen and crowd, that cluttered away, to be out of harm, looked little better than a rout : and I was persuaded a good home charge from our horse would have sent their whole army after them ; but so it was, that this crowd of an army was to triumph over us, and they did it ; for all the kingdom was carefully informed how their dreadful looks had frightened us away.

Upon our retreat, the parliament resented this attack, which they called treacherous, and voted no accommodation ; but they considered of it afterward, and sent six commissioners to the King with propositions ; but the change of the scene of action changed the terms of peace ; and now they made terms like conquerors, petition him to desert his army, return to the parliament, and the like. Had his Majesty, at the head of
 his

his army, with the full reputation they had before, and in the ebb of their affairs, rested at *Windsor*, and commenced a treaty; they had certainly made more reasonable proposals; but now the scabbard seemed to be thrown away on both sides.

The rest of the winter was spent in strengthening parties and places, also in fruitless treaties of peace, messengers, remonstrances, and paper war on both sides, but no action remarkable happened any where that I remember: yet the King gained ground every where, and his forces in the north increased under the Earl of *Newcastle*; also my Lord *Goring*, then called only Colonel *Goring*, arrived from *Holland*, bringing three ships laden with arms and ammunition, and notice that the Queen was following with more. *Goring* brought 4000 barrels of gunpowder and 20000 small arms; all which came very seasonably, for the King was in great want of them, especially the powder. Upon this recruit the Earl of *Newcastle* draws down to *York*; and being above 16000 strong, made Sir *Thomas Fairfax* give ground and retreat to *Hull*.

Whoever lay still, Prince *Rupert* was always abroad, and I chose to go out with his Highness as often as I had an opportunity; for hitherto he was always successful. About this time the Prince, being at *Oxford*, I gave him intelligence of a party of the enemy who lived a little at large, too much for good soldiers, about *Cirencester*. The Prince, glad of the news, resolved

resolved to attack them, and though it was a wet season, and the roads exceeding bad, being in *February*, yet we marched all night in the dark, which occasioned the loss of some horses and men too, in sloughs and holes, which the darkness of the night had suffered them to fall into. We were a very strong party, being about 3000 horse and dragoons, and coming to *Cirencester* very early in the morning, to our great satisfaction the enemy were perfectly surprised, not having the least notice of our march, which answered our end more ways than one. However the Earl of *Stamford's* regiment made some resistance; but the town having no works to defend it, saving a slight breastwork at the entrance of the road with a turnpike, our dragoons lighted, and forcing their way over the bellies of *Stamford's* foot, they beat them from their defence, and followed them closely into the town. *Stamford's* regiment were entirely cut in pieces, and several others, to the number of about 800 men, and the town entered without any other resistance. We took 1200 prisoners, 3000 arms and the country magazine, which at that time was considerable; for there were 120 barrels of powder, and all things in proportion.

I received the first hurt I got in this war, at this action; for having followed the dragoons, and brought my regiment within the barricado which they had gained, a musquet bullet struck my horse just in the head; and that so effectually, that he fell down as dead as a stone, all at once. The fall plunged me into a puddle of water

water and daubed me. My man having brought me another horse, and cleaned me a little, I was just getting up, when another bullet struck on my left hand, which I had just clapt on my horse's mane, to lift myself into the saddle. The blow broke one of my fingers and bruised my hand very much, which proved a very painful hurt. For the present I did not concern myself much about it, but made my man tie it close in an handkerchief, and led up my men to the market-place, where we had a very smart brush with some musqueteers who were posted in the church-yard; but our dragoons soon beat them out there, and the whole town was then our own. We made no stay here, but marched back with all our booty to *Oxford*, for we knew the enemy were very strong at *Gloucester*, and that way.

Much about the same time, the Earl of Northampton, with a strong party set upon *Lichfield* and took the town, but could not take the cloister; they beat a body of 4000 men coming to the relief of the town, under Sir *John Gell* of *Derbyshire*, and Sir *William Brereton* of *Cheshire*, and killing 600 of them, dispersed the rest.

Our second campaign now began to open; the King marched from *Oxford* to relieve *Reading*, which was besieged by the parliament forces; but Colonel *Fielding*, lieutenant-governor (Sir *Arthur Ashton* being wounded) surrendered to *Essex* before the King could come up; which he was tried by martial law, and condemned to die; but the King forbore to execute

tute the sentence. This was the first town we had lost in the war; for still the success of the King's affairs was very encouraging. This bad news however was overbalanced by an account brought the King at the same time, by an express from *York*, that the Queen had landed in the north, and had brought over a great magazine of arms and ammunition, beside some men. Some time after this, her Majesty marching southward to meet the King, joined the army near *Edgehill*, where the first battle was fought. She brought the King 3000 foot, 1500 horse and dragoons, six pieces of cannon, 1500 barrels of powder and 12000 small arms.

During this prosperity of the King's affairs, his armies increased mightily in the western counties also. Sir *William Waller* indeed commanded for the parliament in those parts too, and particularly in *Dorsetshire*, *Hampshire* and *Berkshire*, where he carried on their cause but too fast; farther west, Sir *Nicholas Flamming*, Sir *Ralph Hopton* and Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, had extended the King's quarters from *Cornwall* thro' *Devonshire* and into *Somersetshire*, where they took *Exeter*, *Barnstable* and *Biddiford*; and the first of these they fortified very well, making it a place of arms for the west, and afterward it was the residence of the Queen.

At last, the famous Sir *William Waller* and the King's forces met, and came to a pitched battle, where Sir *William* lost all his honour again. This was at *Roundway-down* in *Wiltshire*. *Waller* had engaged our *Cornish* army at *Lans-*
G g
down,

down, and in a very obstinate fight had the better of them, and made them to retreat to the *Devizes*. Sir *William Hopton* however having a good body of foot untouched, sent expresses and messengers one at the back of another to the King for some horse, and his Majesty being in great concern for that army, who were composed of the best of the *Cornish* men, commanded me to march with all possible secrecy as well as expedition, with 1200 horse and dragoons from *Oxford*, to join them. We set out in the depth of the night, to avoid, if possible any intelligence being given of our rout, and soon joined with the *Cornish* army, when it was as soon resolved to give battle to *Waller*; and to give him his due, he was as forward to fight as us.

As it is easy to meet when both sides are willing to be found, Sir *William Waller* met us upon *Roundway-down*, where we had a fair field on both sides, and room enough to draw up our horse. In a word, there was little ceremony to the work; the armies joined, and we charged his horse with so much resolution, that they quickly fled and quitted the field; for we over-matched him in horse, and this was the entire destruction of their army: for their infantry, which out-numbered ours by 1500, were now at our mercy; some faint resistance they made, just enough to give us occasion to break in to their ranks with our horse, where we gave time to our foot to defeat others that stood to their work. Upon which they began to disband and
run

run every way ; but our horse having surrounded them, made a fearful havock.

We lost not above 200 men in this action ; *Waller* had above 4000 killed and taken, and as many dispersed that never returned to their colours. Those of the foot that escaped got into *Bristol*, and *Waller*, with the poor remains of his routed regiments, got to *London* ; so that it is plain some run east and some west, and every way they could.

Going with this detachment prevented my being at the siege of *Bristol*, which Prince *Rupert* attacked much about the same time, and it surrendered in three days. The parliament questioned Colonel *Nathaniel Fienns*, the governor, and had him tried as a coward by a court martial, and condemned to die, but suspended the execution also, as the King did the governor of *Reading*. I have often heard Prince *Rupert* say, they did Colonel *Fienns* wrong in that affair ; and that if the colonel would have summoned him, he would have demanded a passport of the parliament, and have come up and convinced the court, that Colonel *Fienns* had not misbehaved himself ; and that he had not a sufficient garrison to defend a city of that extent ; having not above 1200 men in the town, excepting some of *Waller's* runaways, most of whom were unfit for service, without arms ; and that the citizens in general being disaffected to him, and ready on the first occasion to open the gates to the King's forces, it was impossible for him to have kept the city ; and when I had farther informed

informed them of the measures I had taken for a general assault the next day, I am confident I should have convinced them, that I had taken the city by storm, if he had not surrendered.

The King's affairs were now in a very good posture, and three armies in the north, west, and in the centre, counted in the musters above 70000 men, beside small garrisons and parties abroad. Several of the lords, and more of the commons, began to fall off from the parliament, and made their peace with the King; and the affairs of the parliament began to look very ill. The city of *London* was their inexhaustible support and magazine, both for men, money and all things necessary; and whenever their army were out of order, the clergy of their party, in a *Sunday* or two, would preach the young citizens out of their shops, the labourers from their masters, into the army, and recruit them on a sudden. All this was still owing to the omission I first observed, of not marching to *London* when it might have been so easily effected.

We had now another, or a fairer opportunity, than before, but as ill use was made of it. The King, as I have observed, was in a very good posture; he had three large armies roving at large over the Kingdom. The *Cornish* army, victorious and numerous, had beaten *Waller*, secured and fortified *Exeter*, which the *Queen* had made her residence, and was there delivered of a daughter, the Princess *Henrietta Maria*, afterward Dutchess of *Orleans*, and mother of the Dutchess Dowager of *Savoy*, commonly known

known in the *French* style by the title of *Madam Royal*. They had secured *Salisbury*, *Sherborn* castle, *Weymouth*, *Winchester* and *Basing-house*; commanded the whole country, except *Bridge-water*, *Taunton*, *Plymouth* and *Lynn*; all which places they held blocked up. The King was also entirely master of all *Wales*, *Monmouthshire*, *Cheshire*, *Shropshire*, *Staffordshire*, *Worcestershire*, *Oxfordshire*, *Berkshire*, and all the towns from *Windfor* up the *Thames* to *Cirencester*, except *Reading* and *Henley*; and of the whole *Severn*, except *Gloucester*.

The Earl of *Newcastle* had garrisons in every strong place in the north, from *Berwick-upon-Tweed*, to *Boston* in *Lincolnshire*, and *Newark-on-Trent* (*Hull* only excepted) whither the Lord *Fairfax* and his son Sir *Thomas* were retreated, their troops being routed and broken, and *Thomas Fairfax's* baggage, with his lady and servants taken prisoners, and himself hardly escaping.

And now a great council of war was held in the King's quarters, what enterprize to go upon; and it happened to be the very same day when the parliament were in a serious debate what should become of them, and whose help they should seek? And indeed they had cause for it; and had our counsels been as ready and well grounded as theirs, we had put an end to the war in a month's time.

In this council the King proposed the marching to *London*, to put an end to the parliament, and encourage his friends and loyal subjects in
Kent,

Kent, who were ready to rise for him; and shewed us letters from the Earl of *Newcastle* wherein he offered to join his Majesty with a detachment of 4000 horse and 8000 foot, if his Majesty thought fit to march southward, and yet leave forces sufficient to guard the north from any invasion. I confess, when I saw the scheme the King had himself drawn for this attempt, I felt an usual satisfaction in my mind, from the hopes that we might bring this war to a tolerable end; for I professed myself on all occasions heartily weary of fighting with friends, brothers, neighbours and acquaintance: and I made no question, but this motion of the King's would effectually bring the parliament to reason.

All men seemed to like the enterprize but the Earl of *Worcester*, who on particular views for securing the country behind, as he called it, proposed the taking in the town of *Gloucester* and *Hereford* first. He made a long speech of the danger of leaving *Massey*, an active, bold fellow, with a strong party in the heart of all the King's quarters, ready on all occasions to sally out and surprise the neighbouring garrisons, as he had done *Sudley* castle and others; and of the ease and freedom to all those western parts, to have them fully cleared of the enemy. Interest presently backs this advice, and all those gentlemen whose estates lay that way, or whose friends lived about *Worcester*, *Shrewsbury*, *Bridgnorth*, or the borders; and who, as they said, had heard the frequent wishes of the country to have

have the city of *Gloucester* reduced, fell in with his advice, alledging the consequence it was of to the commerce of the country, to have the navigation of the *Severn* free, which was only interrupted by this one town from the sea up to *Worcestershire*, &c.

I opposed this, and so did several others. Prince *Rupert* was vehemently against it; and we both offered, with the troops of the county, to keep *Gloucester* blocked up during the King's march for *London*, so that *Massey* should not be able to stir.

This proposal made the Earl of *Worcester's* party more eager for the siege than before; for they had no mind to a blockade, which would leave the country to maintain the troops all the summer; and of all men the Prince did not please them. For he having no extraordinary character for discipline, his company was not much desired even by our friends. Thus, in an ill hour, it was resolved to sit down before *Gloucester*. The King had a gallant army of 28000 men, whereof 11000 horse, the finest body of gentlemen ever I saw together in my life; their horses without comparison, their equipages the finest and best in the world, and their persons *English*, which I think enough to say of them.

According to the resolution taken in the council of war, the army marched westward, and sat down before *Gloucester* the beginning of *August*. There we spent a month to the least purpose that ever army did; our men received frequent

frequent affronts from the desperate sallies of an inconsiderable enemy. I cannot forbear reflecting on the misfortunes of this siege. Our men were strangely dispirited in all the assaults they gave upon the place; there was something looked like disaster and mismanagement, and our men went on with an ill will, without resolution. The King despised the place, and, to carry it sword in hand, made no regular approaches, but the garrison being desperate, made greater slaughter. In this work, our horse, who were so numerous and fine, had no employment. 2000 horse had been enough for this business; the enemy had no garrison or party within forty miles of us, so that we had nothing to do but look on, with infinite regret, at the losses of our foot.

The enemy made frequent and desperate sallies, in one of which I had my share. I was posted upon a parade, or place of arms, with part of my regiment and part of Colonel *Goring's* regiment of horse, in order to support a body of foot who were ordered to storm the point of a breastwork which the enemy had raised to defend one of the avenues to the town. The foot were beat off with loss, as they always were; and *Massey*, the governor, not content to have beaten them from his works, sallies out with near 400 men, and falling in upon the foot as they were rallying under the cover of our horse, we put ourselves in the best posture we could to receive them. As *Massey* did not expect, I suppose, to engage with any horse, he had no pikes with

with him, which encouraged us to treat him the more rudely ; but, as to desperate men danger vanisheth, when he found he must clear his hands of us, before he could dispatch the foot, faces up, fires but one volly of small shot, and fell to battering us with the stocks of their musquets, in such a manner, that one would have thought they had been madmen.

We at first despised their way of clubbing us, and charging through them laid a great many of them upon the ground ; and in repeating our charge, trampled more of them under our horses feet : and wheeling thus continually, beat them off from our foot, who were just upon the point of disbanding. Upon this they charged us again with their fire, and at one volly killed 33 or 34 men and horses ; and had they had pikes with them, I know not what we should have done with them : but at last, charging through them again, they divided ; one part of them being hemmed in between us and our own foot, we cut in pieces to a man ; the rest, as I understood afterward, retreated into the town, having lost 300 of their men.

In this last charge I received a rude blow from a stout fellow on foot, with the but end of his musquet, which perfectly stunned me, and fetched me from my horse ; and had not somebody near took care of me, I had been trod to death by our own men : but the fellow being immediately killed, and my friends finding me alive, had taken me up, and carried me off at some distance, where I came to myself again,

H h

after

after some time, but knew little of what I did or said for that night. This was the reason why I say I afterward understood the enemy retreated for I saw no more what they did then; nor indeed was I well of this blow for all the rest of the summer, but had frequent pains in my head, dizzinesses and swimming, that gave me some fears the blow had injured the scull, but it wore off again; nor did it at all hinder my attending the charge.

This action, I think, was the only one that looked like a defeat given the enemy at this siege; we killed them near 300 men, as I have said, and lost about 60 of our troopers.

All this time, while the King was harrassing and weakening the best army he ever saw together during the whole war, the parliament generals, or rather preachers, were recruiting theirs; for the preachers were better than drummers to raise volunteers, zealously exhorting the *London* dames to part with their husbands, and the city to send some of their trained bands to join the army for the relief of *Gloucester*; and now they began to advance towards us.

The King, hearing of the advance of *Essex's* army, who by this time was come to *Alisbury*, had summoned what forces he had within call, to join him; and accordingly he received 3000 foot from *Somersetshire*: and having battered the town for 36 hours, and made a fair breach, resolves upon an assault, if possible, to carry the town before the enemy came up. The assault was begun about seven in the evening, and the men

men boldly mounted the breach ; but after a very obstinate and bloody dispute, were beaten out again by the besieged with great loss.

Being thus often repulsed, and the Earl of *Essex's* army approaching, the King calls a council of war, and proposed to fight them. The officers of the horse were for fighting ; and without doubt we were superior to him both in number and goodness of our horse, but the foot were not in an equal condition : and the colonels of foot representing to the King the weakness of their regiments, and how their men had been balked and disheartened at this cursed siege, the graver counsel prevailed, and was resolved to raise the siege and retreat towards *Bristol*, till the army were recruited. Pursuant to this resolution, the 5th of *September*, the King having before sent away his heavy cannon and baggage, raised the siege, and marched to *Berkley* castle. The Earl of *Essex* came the next day to *Birdlip-bills* ; and understanding by messengers from Colonel *Massey*, that the siege was raised, sends a recruit of 2500 men into the city, and followed us himself with a great body of horse.

This body of horse shewed themselves to us once in a large field fit to have entertained them in ; and our scouts having assured us they were not above 4000, and had no foot with them, the King ordered a detachment of about the same number to face them. I desired his Majesty to let us have two regiments of dragoons with us, which was then 800 men in a regiment, lest there might be some dragoons among the enemy,

thy, which the King granted ; and accordingly we marched, and drew up in view of them. They stood their ground, having, as they supposed, some advantage of the manner they were posted in, and expected we should charge them. The King, who did us the honour to command this party, finding they would not stir, calls me to him, and ordered me with the dragoons and my own regiment, to take a circuit round by a village to a certain lane, where in their retreat they must have passed, and which opened to a small common on their flank, with orders, if they had engaged, to advance and charge them in the flank. I marched immediately ; but though the country about there was almost all enclosures, yet their scouts were so vigilant, that they discovered me, and gave notice to the body ; upon which their whole party moved to the left, as if they intended to charge me, before the King with his body of horse could come ; but the King was too vigilant to be circumvented so ; and therefore his Majesty perceiving this, sends away three regiments of horse to second me, and a messenger before them, to order me to halt, and expect the enemy, for that he would follow with the whole body.

But before this order reached me, I had halted for some time ; for, finding myself discovered, and not judging it safe to be entirely cut off from the main body, I stopt at the village, and causing my dragoons to alight, and line a thick hedge on my left. I drew up my horse just at the entrance into the village opening to

a common ; the enemy came up on the trot to charge me, but were saluted with a terrible fire from the dragoons out of the hedge, which killed them near 100 men. This being a perfect surprise to them they halted ; and just at that moment received orders from their main body to retreat ; the King at the same time appearing upon some small heights in their rear, obliged them to think of retreating, or coming to a general battle, which was not their design.

I had no occasion to follow them, not being in a condition to attack their whole body ; but the dragoons coming out into the common, gave them another volley at a distance, which reached them effectually, for it killed above 20 of them and wounded more ; but they drew off and never fired a shot at us, fearing to be enclosed between two parties, so marched away to their general's quarters, leaving 10 or 12 more of their fellows killed and about 180 horses. Our men, after the country fashion, gave them a shout at parting, to let them see we knew they were afraid of us.

However, this relieving of *Gloucester* raised the spirits as well as the reputation of the parliament forces, as it was a great defeat to us. From this time things began to look with a melancholy aspect ; for the prosperous condition of the King's affairs began to decline. The opportunities he had let slip, were never to be recovered ; and the parliament, in their former extremity, having voted an invitation to the *Scots* to march to their assistance, we had now
new

new enemies to encounter; and indeed there began the ruin of his Majesty's affairs; for the Earl of *Newcastle*, not able to defend himself against the *Scots* on his rear, the Earl of *Manchester* in his front, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* on his flank, was every where routed and defeated, and his forces obliged to quit the field to the enemy.

About this time it was we first began to hear of one *OLIVER CROMWELL*, who, like a little cloud rose out of the east, spread its gloomy aspect on the pinions of the atmosphere, till overpowered by its magnitude, shed down a flood that overwhelmed the three kingdoms.

He first was a private captain of horse, but now commanded a regiment, whom he armed *Cap-a-pee a la Curiaffer*; and joining with the Earl of *Manchester*, the first action we heard of him, that made him any thing famous, was about *Grantham*, where, with only his own regiment, he defeated 24 troops of horse and dragoons of the King's forces. Then at *Gainsborough*, with two regiments of his own horse, and one of dragoons, he defeated near 3000 of the Earl of *Newcastle's* men, killed Lieutenant-general *Cavendish*, brother to the Earl of *Devonshire*, who commanded them, and relieved the place; though the whole army came in to the rescue, he made good his retreat to *Lincoln*, with little loss; and the next week he defeated *John Henderson*, at *Winsby* near *Horncastle*, with 16 regiments of horse and dragoons, with r

half that number, killed the Lord *Widdrington*, Sir *Ingram Hopton*, and several gentlemen of quality.

Thus the firebrand of war began to blaze, and he soon grew a terror to the north; for victory attended him like a page of honour, and he was scarce ever known to be beaten during the whole war.

Now we began to reflect again on the misfortune of our master's counsels. Had we marched to *London*, instead of besieging *Gloucester*, we had finished the war with a stroke. The parliament's army was in a most despicable condition, and had never been recruited, had we not given them a month's time, which we lingered away fatally at this town of *Gloucester*. But it was too late to reflect; we were a disheartened army, though not beaten or broke yet; we had large country to recruit in, and we lost no time but raised men apace. In the mean time, his Majesty, after a short stay at *Bristol*, makes back again towards *Oxford* with a part of the foot and all the horse.

At *Cirencester* we had a brush again with *Essex*; that town owed us a shrewd turn for having handled them coarsly enough before, when since *Rupert* seized the country magazine. It happened to be in the town that night with Sir *Nicholas Crisp*, whose regiment of horse quarrelled there with Colonel *Spencer* and some foot; my own regiment was gone before to *Oxford*. About ten at night, a party of *Essex's* men beat our quarters by surprise, just as we had served them

them before ; they fell in with us, just as people were going to bed, and having beaten the out-guards, were got into the middle of the town, before our men could get on horseback. Sir *Nicholas Crisp* hearing the alarm, gets up and with some of his cloaths on and some off, comes into my chamber. " We are all undone, (says he) the roundheads are upon us." We had but little time to consult ; but being in one of the principal inns in the town, we presently ordered the gates of the inn to be shut, and sent to all the inns where our men were quartered, to do the like, with orders, if they had any back doors. or ways to get out, to come to us. By this means, however, we got so much time as to get on horseback, and so many of our men came to us by back ways, that we had near 300 horse in the yards and places behind the house ; and now we began to think of breaking out by a lane which led from the back side of the inn ; but a new accident determined us another, though a worse way. The enemy being entered, and our men cooped in the yards of the inns, Colonel *Spencer*, the other colonel, whose regiment of horse lay also in the town, had got on horseback before us, and engaged with the enemy, but being overpowered, retreated fighting, and sends to Sir *Nicholas Crisp* for help. Sir *Nicholas*, moved to see the distress of his friend, turning to me, says he, " What can we do for him ?" I told him, I thought it was time to help him, if possible ; upon which, opening the inn gates, we sallied
out

out in very good order, about 300 horse; and several of the troops from other parts of the town joining us, we recovered Colonel *Spencer*, and charging home, beat back the enemy to their main body: but finding their foot drawn up in the church-yard, and several detachments moving to charge us, we retreated in as good order as we could. They did not think fit to pursue us, but took all the carriages which were under the convoy of this party, loaden with provisions, ammunition, &c. and above 500 of our horse. The foot shifted away as well as they could: thus we made off in a shattered condition towards *Farrington*, so to *Oxford*, and I was very glad my regiment was not there.

We had little rest at *Oxford*, or indeed any where else; for the King was marched from thence, and we followed him. I was rather uneasy at being absent from my regiment, and did not know how the King might resent it, which caused me to ride after them with all expedition. The armies were engaged that very day at *Newberry*, but I came in too late. I had not behaved myself so as to be suspected of a wilful shunning the action; but a colonel of a regiment ought to avoid absence from his regiment in time of fight, be the excuse never so just, as carefully as he would a surprise in his quarters. The truth is, it was an error of my own, and owing to two days stay I made at the bath, where I met with some ladies who were my relations: but this is far from being an excuse; for, had the King been a *Gustavus Adol-*
 I i *phus*,

phus, I should certainly have received a check for it.

This fight was very obstinate, and could o — horse have come to action as freely as the foot the parliament had suffered much more; for we had here a much better body of horse than they, and we never failed beating them where the weight of the work lay upon the horse.

Here the city train-bands, of which there were two regiments, and whom we used to despise, fought very well. They lost one of their colonels, and several officers in the action; and I heard our men say, behaved themselves as well as any forces the parliament had.

The parliament cried victory here too, as they always did; and indeed when the foot were concerned they had some advantage; but our horse defeated them evidently. The King drew up his army in battalia, and faced them all the next day, inviting them to renew the fight; but they had no inclination to come on again.

It was a kind of a hedge fight, for neither army were drawn out in the field; if they had, it would never have held from six in the morning to ten at night: but they fought for advantages; sometimes one side had the better sometimes the other. They fought twice thro' the town, in at one end and out at the other; and in the hedges and lanes with great fury. The King lost the most men, his foot having suffered for want of succour from the horse, which, on two several occasions could not come at them. But the parliament's foot suffered also, and two regiments

iments were entirely cut in pieces, but the King kept the field.

Essex, the parliament general, had the pillage of the dead, but left us to bury them; for while we stood all day to arms, having given them a fair field to fight us in, their camp rabble stript the dead bodies, and they, not daring to venture a second engagement with us, marched away towards *London*.

The King lost in this action the Earls of *Carnarvon* and *Sunderland*, Lord *Falkland*, a *French* Marquis, some very gallant officers and about 1200 men. The Earl of *Carnarvon* was brought into an inn at *Newberry*, where the King came to see him. He had just life enough to speak to his Majesty, and died in his presence. The King was exceedingly concerned for him, and was observed to shed tears at the sight. We were indeed all of us troubled for the loss of so brave a gentleman, but the concern our royal Master discovered, moved us more than ordinary. Every body endeavoured to have the King out of the room, but he would not stir from the bed side, till he saw all hopes of life gone.

The indefatigable industry of the King, his servants and friends, continually to supply and recruit his forces, and to harrafs and fatigue the enemy, was such, that we should still have given a good account of the war had the *Scots* stood neuter. But bad news came every day out of the north; as for other places, parties were always in action. Sir *William Waller* and Sir *R. Hopton* beat one another by turns; and Sir *Ralph* had

had extended the King's quarters from *Lan-
ceston* in *Cornwall*, to *Farnham* in *Surry*, where
he gave Sir *William Waller* a rub, and drove him
into the castle.—But in the north, the storm
grew thick, the *Scots* advanced to the border,
and entered *England* in confederacy with the
parliament against their King; for which the
parliament requited them afterwards as they
deserved.

Had it not been for the *Scotch* army, the par-
liament had easily been reduced to terms of
peace: but after this they never made any pro-
posals fit for the King to receive. Want of
success before had made them differ among
themselves. *Essex* and *Waller* could never agree;
the Earl of *Manchester* and Lord *Willough-
by* differed to the highest degree, and the King's
affairs went no worse for it. But this storm in
the north ruined us all; for the *Scots* prevailed
in *Yorkshire*, and being joined with *Fairfax*,
Manchester and *Cromwell*, carried all before
them; so that the King was obliged to send
Prince *Rupert*, with a body of 4000 horse, to
the assistance of the Earl of *Newcastle*, where
that Prince finished the destruction of the King's
interest, by the rashest and most unaccountable
action in the world, of which I shall speak in
its place.

Another action of the King's, though in it-
self no greater a cause of offence than the calling
the *Scots* into the nation, gave great offence in
general, and even the King's friends disliked it,
and was carefully improved by his enemies to
the

e disadvantage of his Majesty, and to his use also.

The rebels in *Ireland* had, ever since the bloody massacre of the protestants, maintained war against the *English*, and the Earl of *Ormond* was general and governor for the King. His Majesty finding his affairs pinch him at home, sends orders to the Earl of *Ormond* to consent to a cessation of arms with the rebels, and to ship over certain of his regiments hither for his Majesty's assistance. It is true the *Irish* had deserved to be very ill treated by us; but while the parliament pressed the King with a cruel and unnatural war at home, and called in an army out of *Scotland* to support their quarrel with their King, I could never be convinced, that it was such a dishonourable action for the King to suspend the correction of his *Irish* rebels, till he was in a capacity to do it with safety himself, or to delay any farther assistance to deserve himself at home; and the troops he recalled being his own, it was no breach of honour to make use of them, as he now wanted them for his own security, against those who rebelled at home.

But the King was persuaded to make one step further, which, I confess, was displeasing to us all; indeed some of his best and most faithful servants took the freedom to speak plainly to him of it: and that was, bringing some regiments of the *Irish* themselves over. This cast, we thought, an odium upon our whole nation, being some of those very wretches who had
dipt

dipt their hands in the innocent blood of protestants, and with unheard-of butchery had massacred so many thousands of *English* cool blood.

Abundance of gentlemen forsook the war upon this score; and seeing they could not but be the fighting in conjunction with this wild generation, came into the declaration of parliament, and making composition for estates, lived retired lives all the rest of the war, or went abroad.

But as exigencies and necessities oblige us to do what at other times we would not, and as to man, some excuse for such things; I do not but think the guilt and dishonour of such an action must lie, however very much, at least, at the doors of those who drove the King to these necessities and distresses, by calling in an army of his own subjects whom he had not injured, but had complied with their every thing, to make war upon him with any provocation.

As to the quarrel between the King and parliament, there may something be said on both sides; and the King saw cause himself to disown and dislike some things he had done which the parliament objected against, such as levying money without consent of parliament, infractions on their privileges, and the like. Here, I say, was some room for an argument at least, and concessions on both sides, and needful to come to a peace; but for the sake of all their demands had been answered, all their
grievances

ices had been redressed, they had made ; with their Sovereign, and he had per-
l those articles ; their capital enemy, epif-
, was abolished ; they had not one thing
and of the King which he had not grant-
d therefore, they had no more cause to
arms against their Sovereign, than they
ainst the Grand Senior. But it must for
e against them as a brand of infamy, and
proach on their whole nation, that *pur-*
by the parliament's money, they sold their
and rebelled against their King for hire ;
was not many years before, as I have said
, they were fully paid the wages of their
teousness, and chastised for their treachery
very same people whom they thus basely
: then they would have retrieved it had
been too late.

I could not but accuse this age of injus-
d partiality, who, while they reproached
ng for his cessation of arms with the *Irish*
and not prosecuting them with the ut-
verity, though he was constrained by the
ies of the war to do it, could yet, at the
ime, justify the *Scots* taking up arms in
el they had no concern in, and against
wn King, with whom they had articted
pitulated, and who had so punctually
ed with all their demands, that they had
in upon him, no grievances to be redress-
oppression to cry out of, nor could ask
ng of him which he had not granted.

as no action in the world is so vile, but
the

the actors can cover with some specious pretence, so the *Scots* now passing into *England* publish a declaration to justify their assisting the parliament: to which I shall only say, in my opinion, was no justification at all; for admit the parliament's quarrel had been never so just, it could not be just in them to aid them, because it was against their own King, to whom they had sworn allegiance, or at least crowned; and thereby recognized his authority: for if maleadministration be, according to *Pryn's* doctrine, or according to their own *Buchanan*, a sufficient reason for subjects to take up arms against their Prince, the breach of his coronation oath being supposed to dissolve the oath of allegiance, which however I cannot believe; yet this can never be extended to make it lawful, that because a King of *England* may, by maleadministration discharge the subjects of *England* from their allegiance, that therefore the subjects of *Scotland* may take up arms against the King of *Scotland*, he having not infringed the compact of government as to them, and they having nothing to complain of for themselves. Thus I thought their own arguments were against them, and Heaven seemed to concur with it; for although they carried the cause for the *English* rebels, yet the most of them left their bones in the quarrel.

But what signifies reason to the drum or the trumpet. The parliament had the supreme argument with those men, *viz.* the money; and having accordingly advanced a good round sum,
upon

upon payment of this (for the *Scots* would not stir a foot without it) they entered *England* on the 15th of *January* 1643, with an army of 12000 men, under the command of old *Lesley*, now Earl of *Levon*, an old soldier of great experience, having been bred to arms from a youth in the service of the Prince of *Orange*.

The *Scots* were no sooner entered *England*, but they were joined by all the friends to the parliament party in the north; and first, Colonel *Grey*, brother to Lord *Grey*, joined them with a regiment of horse, and several out of *Vestmoreland* and *Cumberland*, and so advanced to *Newcastle*, which they summoned to surrender. The Earl of *Newcastle*, who rather saw, than was able to prevent this storm, was in *Newcastle*, and did his best to defend it; but as the *Scots* increased by this time to above 20000, he did a close siege to the place, which was but meanly fortified; and having repulsed the garrison upon several sallies, and pressing the place very close; after a siege of 12 days, or thereabouts, they entered the town sword in hand. The Earl of *Newcastle* got away, and afterward gathered what forces together he could; but not strong enough to hinder the *Scots* from advancing to *Durham* which he quitted to them, nor to hinder the conjunction of the *Scots* with the forces of *Fairfax*, *Manchester* and *Cromwell*. Whereupon the Earl, seeing all things thus going to wreck, sends his horse away and retreats with his foot into *York*, making all necessary reparations for a vigorous defence there, in

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case

case he should be attacked, which he was pre-
 ture of, as indeed afterward happened. *York*
 was in a very good posture of defence: the for-
 tifications very regular, and exceeding strong;
 well furnished with provisions, and had now a
 garrison of 12000 men in it. The governor
 under the Earl of *Newcastle*, was Sir *Thomas*
Glemham, a good soldier, and a gentleman of
 great bravery.

The *Scots*, as I have said, having taken *Dur-*
ham, *Tinmouth* castle, and *Sunderland*, being
 joined by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who had taken
Selby, resolved; with their united strength, to
 besiege *York*; but when they came to view the
 city, saw a plan of the works, and had intelli-
 gence of the strength of the garrison, they sent
 exprestes to *Manchester* and *Cromwell* for help,
 who came on, and joined them with 9000, ma-
 king together about 30000 men, rather more
 than less.

Now had the Earl of *Newcastle's* repeated
 messengers convinced the King, that it was ab-
 solutely necessary to send some forces to his as-
 sistance, or else all would be lost in the north.
 Whereupon Prince *Rupert* was detached with
 orders first to go into *Lancashire*, and relieve
Latbam-house, defended by the brave Countess
 of *Derby*; and then taking all the forces he
 could collect in *Cheshire*, *Lancashire* and *York-*
shire, to march to relieve *York*.

The Prince marched from *Oxford* with, but
 three regiments of horse, and one of dragoons,
 making in all about 2800 men. The colonels
 of

of horse were *Goring*, *Byron* and myself; the dragoons were of Colonel *Smith*. In our march we were joined by a regiment of horse from *Banbury*, one of dragoons from *Bristol*, and 3 regiments of horse from *Chester*, were those who having been at the siege of *Nantwich*, were obliged to raise the siege by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*; and the foot having yielded, the horse made good their retreat to *Chester*, being about 2000; of whom three regiments now joined us.

We received also 2000 foot from *West-Chester*, and 2000 more out of *Wales*. With this strength we entered *Lancashire*. We had not much time to spend, and a great deal of work to do.

Bolton and *Liverpool* felt the first fury of our Prince. At *Bolton* indeed he had some provocation; for here we were like to be beaten off. When first the Prince came to the town, he sent a summons to demand it for the King, but received no answer but from their guns, commanding the messenger to keep off at his peril. They had raised some works about the town, and having by their intelligence, learned we had no artillery, and were only a flying party (so they called us) contemned the summons, and shewed themselves upon the ramparts ready for us. The Prince was resolved to humble them, if possible, and takes up his quarters close to the town. In the evening, he orders me to advance with one regiment of dragoons, and my horse to bring them off, if occasion was, and to post myself as near as possibly I could to the lines,

lines, so as not to be discovered; and, at the same time, having concluded what part of the works to fall upon, he draws up his men on two other sides, as if he would storm them there; and on a signal I was to begin the real assault on my side, with my dragoons. I had got so near the town with my dragoons, making them creep upon their bellies a great way, that we could hear the soldiers talk on the walls, when the Prince believing one regiment would be too few, sends me word, that he had ordered a regiment of foot to help, and that I should not discover myself till they were come up to me. This broke our measures; for the march of this regiment was discovered by the enemy, and they took the alarm. Upon this I sent to the Prince, to desire he would put off the storm for that night, and I would answer for it the next day; but he was impatient, and sent orders we should fall on as soon as the foot came up to us. The foot marching out of the way, missed us, and fell in with a road that leads to another part of the town; and not being able to find us, made an attack upon the town themselves; but the defendants being ready for them, received them very warmly, and beat them off with great loss.

I was at a loss now what to do; for hearing the guns, and by the noise knowing it was an assault upon the town, I was very uneasy to have my share in it; but as I had learnt under the King of *Sweden* punctually to adhere to the execution of orders; and my orders being to lie still till the foot came up with me; I would
not

at stir if I had been sure to have done never so much service; but however to satisfy myself, I went to the Prince to let him know that I continued in the same place expecting the foot, and none being yet come, I desired farther orders. The Prince was a little amazed at this, and adding there must be some mistake, came galloping away in the dark to the place, and drew off the men, which was no hard matter, for they were willing enough to give it over.

The Prince ordered me to come off privately, not to be discovered, if possible, which I effectually did; and so we were balked for that night. The next day the Prince fell on upon another quarter with three regiments of foot, but was beaten off with loss; and the like a third time. At last, the Prince, resolved to carry it, doubled his numbers, and renewing the attack with fresh men, the foot entered the town over their works, killing in the first heat of the action, all that came in their way; some of the foot at the same time letting in the horse; and so the town was entirely won. There were about 600 of the enemy killed, and we lost above 100 in all, which was owing to the foolish mistakes we made. Our men got some plunder there, which the parliament made a great noise about; but it was their due, and they bought dear enough.

Liverpool did not cost us so much, nor did we get so much by it, the people having sent their women and children, and best goods on board the ships in the road; and as we had no boats

boats to board them with, we could not get at them. Here, as at Bolton, the town and fort was taken by storm, and the garrison were many of them cut in pieces, which, by the way, was their own faults.

Our next stop was *Latham-house*, which the Countess of *Derby* had gallantly defended above 18 weeks, against the parliament forces; and this lady not only encouraged her men by her cheerful and noble maintenance of them, but by examples of her own undaunted spirit, exposing herself upon the walls in the midst of the enemy's shot, would be with her men in the greatest dangers; and she well deserved our care of her person, for the enemy were prepared to use her very rudely if she had fallen into their hands.

Upon our approach, the enemy drew off; and the Prince not only effectually relieved this glorious lady, but left her a good quantity of sorts of ammunition, three great guns, 50 arms, and 200 men, commanded by a major as her extraordinary guard.

Here the way being now opened, and our success answering our expectation, several bodies of foot came in to us from *Westmorland* and *Cumberland*; and here it was that the Prince found means to surprise the town of *Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, which was recovered for the King, by the management of the mayor of the town, and some loyal gentlemen of the county, and a garrison placed there again for the King.

But our main design being the relief of *York*,
the

the Prince advanced that way a-pace, his army still increasing; and being joined by Lord *Goring* from *Richmondshire*, with 4000 horse, which were the same the Earl of *Newcastle* had sent away when he threw himself into *York* with the infantry. We were now 18000 effective men, whereof 10000 were horse and dragoons; so the Prince, full of hopes, and his men in good heart, boldly marched directly for *York*.

The *Scots*, as much surprised at the taking of *Newcastle*, as at the coming of their enemy, began to enquire which way they should get home, if they should be beaten; and calling a council of war, they all agreed to raise the siege. The Prince, who drew with him a great train of carriages charged with provision and ammunition, for the relief of the city, like a wary general, kept at a distance from the enemy, and fetching a great compass about, brings all safe into the city, and enters into *York* himself with all his army.

No action of this whole war had gained the Prince so much honour, or the King's affairs so much advantage as this, had the Prince but had the power to have restrained his courage after this, and checked his fatal eagerness for fighting. Here was a siege raised, the reputation of the enemy justly flurled, a city relieved and furnished, with all things necessary in the face of an army superior in number by near 10000 men, and commanded by a triumphate of generals *Leven*, *Fairfax* and *Mancœster*.—Had the Prince but remembered the proceeding

of the great Duke of *Parma* at the relief of *Paris*, he would have seen the relieving the city was his business; it was the enemy's business to fight, if possible, and his to avoid it; for, having delivered the city, and put the disgrace of raising the siege upon the enemy, he had nothing farther to do, but to have waited till he had seen what course the enemy would take, and taken his farther measures from their motion.

But the Prince, a continual friend to precipitant counsels, would hear no advice. I intreated him not to put it to the hazard; I told him, that he ought to consider if he lost the day, he lost the kingdom, and took the crown from off the King's head. I put him in mind that it was impossible those three generals should continue long together; and, if they did, they would not agree long in their counsels; which would be as well for us as their separating. It was plain *Manchester* and *Cromwell* must return to the associated counties, who would not suffer them to stay, for fear the King should attempt them; that he could subsist well enough, having *York* city and river at his back; but the *Scots* would eat up the country, make themselves odious, and dwindle away to nothing, if he would but hold them at bay a little; other general officers were of the same mind; but all I could say, or they either, to any thing but his own courage, signified nothing. He would draw out and fight, there was no persuading him to the contrary, unless a man should run
the

lik of being upbraided with being a coward
 afraid of the work. The enemy's army lay
 large common, called *Marston-moor*, doubt-
 what to do: some were for fighting the
 e, the *Scots* were against it, being uneasy
 ing the garrison of *Newcastle* at their backs;
 he Prince brought their counsels of war to
 it; for he let them know; they must fight
 whether they would or no; for the Prince
 , as before, 18000 men, and the Earl of
castle having joined him with 8000 foot out
 e city, were marched in quest of the ene-
 had entered the moor in view of their army,
 egan to draw up in order of battle; but
 coming on, the armies only viewed each
 at a distance for that time. We lay all
 upon our arms, and with the first of the
 ere in order of battle; the enemy were
 g ready, but part of *Manchester's* men were
 i the field, but lay about three miles off,
 ade a hasty march to come up.

e Prince's army were exceedingly well ma-
 ; he himself commanded the left wing;
 arl of *Newcastle* the right wing; and Lord
 g, as general of the foot, assisted by Ma-
 jeneral *Porter* and Sir *Charles Lucas*, led
 main battle. I had prevailed with the
 e, according to the method of the King
eden, to place some small bodies of mut-
 ers in the intervals of his horse, in the left
 but could not prevail on the Earl of *New-*
 to do it in the right; which he afterward
 ted. In this posture we stood facing the
 L 1 enemy,

enemy, expecting they would advance to which at last they did ; and the Prince began the day by saluting them with his artiller which being placed very well, galled them terribly for a quarter of an hour ; they could not shift their front, so they advanced the hastier get within our great guns, and consequently out of their danger, which brought the fire on sooner on.

The enemy's army were thus ordered ; *Sir Thomas Fairfax* had the right wing, in which was the *Scots* horse, and the horse of his own and his father's army ; *Cromwell* led the left wing, with his own and the *Earl Manchester's* horse, and the three generals, *Lesley*, old *Fairfax* and *Manchester*, led the main battle.

The Prince, with our left wing, fell on first, and, with his usual fury, broke, like a clap of thunder, into the right wing of the *Scots* horse, led by *Sir Thomas Fairfax* ; and, as nothing could stand in his way, he broke through and through, and entirely routed them, pursuing them quite out of the field. *Sir Thomas Fairfax*, with a regiment of lances, and about 500 of his own horse, made good the ground for some time ; but our musqueteers, which, as I said, were placed among our horse, such an unlooked for article in a fight among the horse, that those lances, which otherwise were brave fellows, were mowed down with their shot, and all was put into confusion. *Sir Thomas Fairfax* was wounded in the face, his brother killed, and a great slaughter was made of the *Scots*, to whom, I confess, we shewed no favour.

While this was doing on our left, Lord *Goring*, with the main battle, charged the enemy's foot, and particularly one brigade commanded by Major-general *Porter*, being mostly pikemen, charged with that fury in a close body of pikes, that they overturned all that came in their way, and breaking into the middle of the enemy's foot, filled all with terror and confusion, insomuch that the three generals thinking they had been lost, fled and quitted the field.

But matters went not so well with that *always* unfortunate gentleman, the Earl of *Newcastle*, and our right wing of horse; for *Cromwell* charged him with a powerful body of horse; and though the Earl, and those about him, did what men could do, and behaved themselves with all possible gallantry, yet there was no withstanding him; but like Prince *Rupert*, they were down all before them; and now the victory was wrung out of our hands by our own gross miscarriage; for the Prince, as it was his custom, too eager in the chace of the enemy, was alone, and could not be heard of. The foot in the centre, the right wing of the horse being routed by *Cromwell*, was left, and without the guard of his horse; *Cromwell* having routed the Earl of *Newcastle*, and beaten him quite out of the field, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* rallying his dispersed troops, they fell all together upon the foot. General Lord *Goring*, like himself, fought like a lion, but, forsaken by his horse, was hemmed in on all sides, and overthrown; and an hour after this, the Prince returning, too late

late to recover his friends, was obliged with rest to quit the field to conquerers.

This was a fatal day to the King's affairs, and the risk too much for any man in his senses to run; we lost 4000 men on the spot, 3000 prisoners, amongst whom was Sir *Charles Lucás*, Major-general *Porter*, Major-general *Telzer*, and about 170 gentlemen of quality. We lost all our baggage, 25 pieces of cannon, 300 carriages, 150 barrels of powder, and 10000 arms. The Prince got into *York* with the Earl of *Newcastle*, a great many gentlemen, and 7 or 8000 of the men, as well horse as foot.

I had but very coarse treatment in this fight; for returning with the Prince from the pursuit of the right wing, and finding all lost, I halted with some other officers, to consider what to do. At first we were for making our retreat in a body, and might have done so well enough, if we had known what had happened, before we saw ourselves in the middle of the enemy; for Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who had got together his scattered troops, and joined by some of the left wing, knowing who we were, charged us with great fury. It was not a time to think of any thing but getting away, or dying upon the spot; the Prince kept on in the front, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, by this charge, cut off about three regiments of us from our body; but bending his main strength at the Prince, left us, as it were, behind him, in the middle of the field of battle. We took this for the only opportunity we could have to get off, and joining together,

r, we made cross the place of battle in as order as we could; with our carabines pre-

this posture, we passed by several bodies of enemy's foot, who stood with their pikes fixed to keep us off; but they had no occasion for we had no design to meddle with them, to get from them. Thus we made a swift march, and thought ourselves pretty secure, but work was ~~not~~ done yet; for, on a sudden, we found ourselves under a necessity of fighting our way through a great body of *Manchester's* who came galloping upon us over the

They had, as we suppose, been pursuing some of our broken troops, which were fled, and seeing us, they gave us a home-combat. We received them as well as we could, wished to get through them, which at last we did with a considerable loss to them. However we lost so many men, either killed or sent from us (for all could not follow the way) that of our three regiments we could not have above 400 horse together, when we got clear, and these were mixt men, some of our own troop and regiment, some of another. Not to believe many of us were killed in the last charge; for we had plainly the better of the enemy, but our design being to get off, some of us went for themselves one way and some another in the best manner they could, and as their own fortunes guided them. 400 more of our body, as I afterward understood, having broken through the enemy's body another way, kept

kept together, and got into *Pontefract* castle, 300 more made northward, and to *Skippoon*, where the Prince afterward fetched them off.

Those few of us that were left together, with whom I was, being now pretty clear of pursuit, halted, and began to enquire who we were, and what we should do; and on a short debate, I proposed we should make to the first garrison of the King's that we could recover; and that we should keep together, lest the country people should insult us upon the roads. With this resolution we pushed on westward for *Lancashire*; but our misfortunes were not yet at an end. We travelled very hard, and got to a village upon the river *Wharf*, near *Wetherby*. At *Wetherby* there was a bridge, but we understood that a party from *Leeds* had secured the town and the post, in order to stop the flying cavaliers; and that it would be very hard to get through there; though, as we understood afterward, there were no soldiers, but a guard of the townsmen. In this pickle we consulted what course to take; to stay where we were till morning, we all concluded would not be safe; some advised to take the stream with our horses; but the river, which was deep, and the current strong, seemed to bid us have a care what we did of that kind, especially in the night. We resolved therefore to refresh ourselves and our horses (which indeed is more than we did) and go on till we might come to a ford or bridge, where we might get over. Some guides we had, but they either were foolish or false;

false ; for after we had rode eight or nine miles, they plunged us into a river, at a place they called a ford, but it was a very ill one ; for most of our horses swam, and seven or eight were lost, but we saved the men ; however we got all over.

We made bold with our first convenience to trespass upon the country for a few horses, where we could find them, to remount our men, whose horses were drowned, and continued our march ; but being obliged to refresh ourselves at a small village at the edge of *Brambam-moor*, we found the country alarmed by our taking some horses, and we were no sooner got on horseback in the morning, and entering on the moor, but we understood we were pursued by some troops of horse. There was no remedy, as we must pass this moor ; and tho' our horses were exceedingly tired, yet we pressed on upon a round trot, and recovered an inclosed country on the other side, where we halted.— And here, necessity putting us upon it, we were obliged to look out for more horses, for several of our men were dismounted, and other horses disabled by carrying double, those who lost their horses getting up behind them ; but we were supplied by our enemies against their will.

The enemy followed us over the moor, and we having a woody inclosed country about us, where we were, I observed by their moving, they had lost sight of us ; upon which I proposed concealing ourselves till we might judge
of

of their numbers. We did so, and lying close in a wood, they past hastily by us, without skirting or searching the wood, which was what on another occasion they would not have done. I found they were not above 150 horse, and considering, that to let them go before us, would be to alarm the country, and stop our design; I thought, since we might be able to deal with them, we should not meet with a better place for it, and told the rest of our officers my mind, which all our party presently (for we had not time for a long debate) agreed to.

Immediately upon this, I caused two men to fire their pistols in the wood, at two different places, as far asunder as I could. This I did to give them an alarm, and amuse them; for being in the lane, they would otherwise have got through before we had been ready, and I resolved to engage them there, as soon as it was possible. After this alarm, we rushed out of the wood, with about 100 horse; and charged them on the flank in a broad lane, the wood being on their right. Our passage into the lane being narrow, gave us some difficulty in our getting out; but the surprise of the charge did our work; for the enemy thinking we had been a mile or two before, had not the least thoughts of this onset, till they heard us in the wood, and then those that were before could not come back. We broke into the lane just in the middle of them, and by that means divided them; and facing to the left, charged the rear. First our dismounted men, which were near 50, lined the

the edge of the wood, and fired with their carbines upon those which were before, so warmly, that they put them in a great disorder: mean while, 50 more of our horse from the farther part of the wood shewed themselves in the lane upon their front; this put the foremost party into a great perplexity, and they began to face about, to fall upon us who were engaged in the rear. But their facing about in a lane where there was no room to wheel, to one who understands the manner of wheeling a troop of horse, must imagine, put them into a great disorder.

Our party in the head of the lane, taking the advantage of this mistake of the enemy, charged in upon them, and routed them entirely. Some found means to break into the inclosures on the other side of the lane, and got away. About 30 were killed, about 25 made prisoners, and 40 very good horses were taken; all this while not a man of ours was lost, and not above seven or eight wounded. Those in the rear behaved themselves better; for they stood our charge with a great deal of resolution, and all we could do, could not break them; but at last our men who had fired on foot through the hedges at the other party, coming to do the like here, there was no standing it any longer. The rear of them faced about, retreated out of the lane, and drew up in the open field to receive and rally their fellows. We killed about 17 of them, and followed them to the end of the lane, but had no mind to have any more fight-

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ing

ing than was needful; our condition at that time not making it proper, the towns round us being all in the enemy's hands, and the country but indifferently pleased with us; however, we stood facing them till they thought fit to march away. Thus we were supplied with horses enough to remount our men, and pursued our first design of getting into *Lancashire*. As for our prisoners, we let them go off on foot.

The country being by this time alarmed, and the rout of our army every where known, we foresaw abundance of difficulties before us; we were not strong enough to venture into any great towns, and we were too many to be concealed in small ones. Upon this we resolved to halt in a great wood about three miles beyond the place, where we had the last skirmish, and sent out scouts to discover the country, and to learn what they could, either of the enemy, or of our friends.

Any body may suppose we had but indifferent quarters here, either for ourselves or for our horses; but however, we made shift to lie here two days and one night. In the interim I took upon me, with two more, to go to *Leeds* to learn some news; we were disguised like country ploughmen; the cloaths we got at a farmer's house, which for that odd occasion we plundered; and I cannot say no blood was shed in a manner too rash, and which I could not have done at another time; but our case was desperate, and the people too furly, shot at us out of the window, wounded one man and shot a horse, which

hich we counted as great a loss to us as a man,
 or our safety depended upon our horses. Here
 we got cloaths of all sorts enough for both sexes,
 and thus dressing myself up *a la paisant*, with a
 white cap on my head, and a fork on my shoul-
 der, and one of my comrades in the farmer's
 wife's ruffet gown and petticoat, like a woman ;
 the other with an old crutch like a lame man,
 and all mounted on such horses as we had taken
 the day before from the country. Away we set
 off for *Leeds* by three several ways, and agreed
 to meet upon the bridge. My pretended coun-
 try woman acted her part to the life, though he
 was a gentleman of good quality of the Earl of
Derby's family, and the cripple did as well
 as he ; but I thought myself very awkward in
 my dress, which made me very shy, especially
 among the soldiers. We passed their sentinels
 and guards at *Leeds* unobserved, and put up our
 horses at several houses in the town, from
 whence we went up and down to make our re-
 marks. My cripple was the fittest to go among
 the soldiers, because there was less danger of
 being pressed. There he informed himself of
 the matters of war, particularly, that the ene-
 my sat down again to the siege of *York* ; that
 the king's parties were in pursuit of the cavaliers ;
 and there he heard that 500 horse of Lord *Man-*
chester's had followed a party of cavaliers over
Hamham-moor ; and, that entering a lane, the
 cavaliers, who were 1000 strong, fell upon them,
 and killed all but about 50. This, though it
 was a lie, was very pleasant for us to hear,
 knowing

knowing it were our party, because of the other part of the story, which was thus; that the cavaliers had taken possession of such a wood, where they rallied all the troops of their flying army; that they had plundered the country as they came, taking all the horses they could get; that they had plundered *Goodman Thompson's* house, which was the farmer I mentioned, and killed man, woman and child; and that they were about 2000 strong.

My other friend in women's cloaths got among the good wives at an inn, where she set up her horse, and there she heard the sad and dreadful tidings; and that this party was so strong, none of the neighbouring garrisons durst stir out; but that they had sent expresses to *York* for a party of horse to come to their assistance.

I walked up and down the town, but fancied myself so ill disguised, and so easy to be known, that I cared not to talk with any body. We met at the bridge exactly at our time, and compared our intelligence, found it answered our end of coming, and that we had nothing to do but to get back to our men; but my cripple told me, he would not stir till he bought some victuals: so away he hops with his crutch, and buys four or five great pieces of bacon, as many of hung beef, and two or three loaves; and, borrowing a sack at the inn (which I suppose he never restored) he loads his horse, and getting a large leather bottle, he filled that of *aqua-vitæ* instead of small beer; my woman comrade did the like. I

I was uneasy in my mind, and took no care
 ut to get out of the town, however we all came
 ff well enough; but it was well for me I had
 o provisions, as you will hear presently. We
 ame, as I said, into the town by different ways,
 nd so we went out; but about three miles from
 he town we met again exactly where we had
 greed: I being about a quarter of a mile from
 he rest, met three country fellows on horse-
 ack; one had a long pole on his shoulder, an-
 her a fork, the third no weapon at all that I
 w; I gave them the road very orderly, being
 abited like one of their brethren; but one of
 em stopping short at me, and looking ear-
 estly, calls out, "Hark thee, friend (says he,
 a broad north country tone) whar hast thou
 ilk horse?" I must confess, I was in the ut-
 most confusion at the question, neither being
 ble to answer it, or speak in his tone; so I
 emed as if I did not hear him, and went on.

Na, but ye's not gang soa," says the boor,
 nd comes up to me, and took hold of the bri-
 le to stop me; at which, vexed at heart that I
 ould not tell how to talk to him, I reached
 im a great knock on the pate with my fork,
 nd fetched him off his horse, and then began
 o mend my pace. The other clowns, though
 t seems they knew not what the fellow wanted
 ursued me, and finding they had better heels
 han I, I saw there was no remedy but to make
 use of my hands, and faced about. The first
 hat came up with me was he that had no wea-
 ons, so I thought I might parly with him;
 and,

and, speaking as country like as I could, asked him what he wanted? "Thou'lt know that soon (says *Yorkshire*) and Ise but come at thee." "Then keep awa' man (said I) or Ise brain thee." By this time the third man came up, and the parly ended; for he gave me no words but laid at me with his long pole, and that with such fury, that I began to be doubtful of him. I was loath to shoot the fellow, though I had pistols under my grey frock, as the noise of a pistol might bring more people in, the village being on our rear; and also because I could not imagine what the fellow meant, or would have; but at last finding he would be too many for me with that long weapon, and a hardy strong fellow, I threw myself off my horse, and running in with him, stabbed my fork into his horse, the horse being wounded, staggered awhile, and then fell down, and the booby had not the sense to get down in time, but fell with him; upon which, giving him a knock or two with my fork, I secured him. The other, by this time, had furnished himself with a great stick out of a hedge, and, before I was disengaged from the last fellow, gave me two such blows, that if the last had not missed my head, and hit me on the shoulder, I had ended the fight and my life together. It was time to look about me now, for this was a madman; I defended myself with my fork, but it would not do; at last, in short, I was forced to pistol him, and get on horseback again, and, with all the speed I could make, to the wood to our men.

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If my two fellow spies had not been behind, had never known what was the meaning of this quarrel of the three countrymen, but my cripple had all the particulars; for he being behind us, as I have already observed, when he came up to the first fellow, who began the fray, he found him beginning to come to himself; so he gets off, pretends to help him, and sets him upon his breech, and being a very merry fellow, talked to him, "Well, and what's the matter now" (says he to him) "ah, waes me, (says the fellow) I is killed!" "Not quite, non" (says the cripple). "O that's a fau thief," says he, and thus they parlied. My cripple got him on his feet, and gave him a dram of his *quavixæ* bottle, and made much of him, in order to know what was the occasion of the quarrel. Our disguised woman pitied the fellow too, and together they set him up again upon his horse, and then he told them that that fellow was gone upon one of his brother's horses who lived at *Wetherby*. They said the cavaliers stole him, but it was like such rogues; no mischief could be done in the country, but it was the poor cavaliers must bear the blame, and the like; and thus they jogged on till they came to the place where the other two lay. The first fellow they assisted as they had done the other, and gave him a dram out of the leather bottle; but the last fellow was past their care, they came away: for when they understood that it was my horse they claimed, they began to be afraid their own horses might be known too,

too, and then they had been betrayed in a worse pickle than I, and must have been forced to have gone away.

I had sent out two troopers to fetch them off if there was any occasion ; but their stay was not long, and the two troopers saw them at distance coming towards us, so they returned.

I had enough of going for a spy, and my companions had enough of staying in the wood for other intelligence agreed with ours, and all concurred in this, that it was time to be going ; however, this use we made of it, that while the country thought us so strong we were in the less danger of being attacked, though in the more of being observed ; but all this while we heard nothing of our friends, till the next day. We heard Prince *Rupert*, with about 1000 horse was at *Skipton*, and from thence marched away to *Westmoreland*.

We concluded now, we had two or three days good ; for, since messengers were sent to *York* for a party to suppress us, we must have at least two days march of them, and therefore all concluded we were to make the best of our way. Early in the morning, therefore, we decamped from those dull quarters ; and as we marched through a village, we found the people very civil to us, and the woman cried out “ God bless them, it is pity the roundheads should make such work with brave men,” and the like. Finding we were among our friends we resolved to halt a little and refresh ourselves
and

and, indeed, the people were very kind to us, gave us victuals and drink, and took care of our horses. It happened to be my lot to stop at a house where the good woman took a great deal of pains to provide for us ; but I observed the good man walked about with a cap upon his head, and very much out of order, I took no great notice of it, being very sleepy, and having asked my landlady to let me have a bed, I lay down and slept heartily : when I awaked I found my landlord on another bed beside me groaning very heavily.

I came down stairs, and found my cripple talking to the landlady ; he was now out of his disguise, but we called him cripple still ; and the other, who put on the woman's cloaths, we called *Goody Thompson*. As soon as he saw me, he called me out, " Do you know (says he) the man of the house you are quartered in ? " " No, not I," (replied I). " No, that I believe, nor they you (says he) if they did, the good wife would not have made you a posset, and fetched a white loaf for you." " What do you mean" (says I). " Have you seen the man ? " (says he). " Seen him (replied I) yes, and heard him too ; the man's sick, and groans so heavily, that I could not lie upon the bed any longer for him." " Why this is the poor man (says he) that you knocked down with your fork yesterday, and I have had all the story out yonder at the next door." I confess it grieved me to have been forced to treat one so roughly who was one of our friends, but to make some amends, we contrived

trived to give the poor man his brother's horse and my cripple told him a formal story, that he believed the horse was taken away from the fellow by some of our men ; and if he knew him again, if it was his friend's horse, he should have him. The man came down upon the news, and I caused six or seven horses, which were taken at the same time, to be shewn him ; he immediately chose the right, so I gave him the horse, and we pretended a great deal of sorrow for the man's hurt ; and that we had knocked the fellow on the head as well as took away the horse. The man was so overjoyed at the revenge he thought was taken on the fellow that we heard him groan no more. We ventured to stay all day and the next night at the town, and got guides to lead us to *Blackstone Edge*, a ridge of mountains which part this side of *Yorkshire* from *Lancashire*.

Early in the morning we marched, and kept our scouts very carefully out every way, which brought us no news for this day ; we kept on all night, and made our horses do penance for the little rest they had, and the next morning we passed the hills, and got into *Lancashire*, to a town called *Littlebury* ; and from thence to *Rochdale*, a little market-town. And now we thought ourselves safe as to the pursuit of enemies from the side of *York* ; our design was to get to *Bolton*, but all the county was full of the enemy in flying parties, and how to get thither we knew not. At last we resolved to send a messenger to *Bolton* ; but he came back and told

us, he had with lurking and hiding, tried all the ways that he thought possible, but to no purpose ; for he could not get into the town. We sent another, but he never returned ; and some time after we understood was taken by the enemy. At last one got into the town, but brought us word, they were tired with our constant alarms, had been straitly blocked up, and every day expected a siege, and therefore, advised us either to go northward, where Prince *Rupert* and Lord *Goring* ranged at liberty ; or to get over *Warrington* bridge, and so secure our retreat to *Chester*.

This double direction divided our opinions ; I was for getting into *Chester*, to recruit myself with horses and with money, both which I wanted, and to get refreshment, which we all stood in need of ; but the major part of our men were for the north. First they said, there was their general, and it was their duty to the cause, and the King's interest obliged us to go where we could do best service ; and there were their friends, and every man might hear some news of his own regiment ; for we belonged to several regiments ; besides, all the towns to the left of us, were possessed by Sir *William Brereton* ; *Warrington* and *Northwich*, garrisoned by the enemy, and a strong party at *Manchester* ; so that it was very likely we should be beaten and dispersed before we could get to *Chester*. These reasons, and especially the last, determined us for the north, and we had settled to march the next morning, when other intelligence re-
solved

solved us to more speedy resolutions. We kept our scouts continually abroad, to bring us in news of the enemy, whom we expected on our backs, and also to keep an eye upon the country; for as we lived upon them something at large, they were ready enough to do us any ill turn that lay in their power.

The first messenger that came to us, was from our friends at *Bolton*, to inform us, that they were preparing at *Manchester* to attack us. One of our parties had been as far as *Stockport*, on the edge of *Cheshire*, and was pursued by a party of the enemy, but got off by the help of the night. Thus all things looking black to the south, we had resolved to march northward in the morning, when one of our scouts from the side of *Manchester* assured us, Sir *Thomas Middleton*, with some of the parliament forces, and the country troops, making above 1200 men, were on their march to attack us, and would certainly beat up our quarters that night. Upon this advice we resolved to be gone; and getting all things in readiness, we began to march about two hours before night: and having got a trusty fellow for a guide, a fellow that we found was a friend to our side, he put a project into my head, which saved us all for that time; and that was, to give out in the village, that we were marched back to *Yorkshire*, resolving to get into *Pontefract* castle; and accordingly, he leads us out of the town the same way we came in; and taking a boy with him, he sends the boy back just at night, and bade him say
he

saw us go up the hills at *Blackstone-Edge*; and it happened very well, for this party were sure of us, that they had placed 400 men on the road to the northward, to intercept our retreat that way, and had left no way for us, as they thought, to get away, but back again.

About ten o'clock at night, they assaulted our quarters; but found we were gone; and being informed which way, they followed upon a spur, and travelled all night, being moonlight, they found themselves the next day about 25 miles east, just out of their way; for we led by the help of our guide, turned short as a foot of the hills, and through blind, untraced paths, and with difficulty enough, by the next day, had reached almost 25 miles north near a town called *Clithero*. Here we pitched in the open field, and sent out our people to see how things were; it was a country almost impassable, and walled round with hills; it was indifferently quiet, and we got some refreshment for ourselves, but very little horse-meat; and so went on; we had not marched far before we found ourselves discovered; and the horse sent to lie in wait for us as before, having understood which way we went, followed us hard; and by letters to some of their friends at *Preston*, we found we were beset again.

Our guide began now to be out of his knowledge, and our scouts brought us word, that the enemy's horse were posted before us, and we knew they were in our rear. In this exigence we

we resolved to divide our small body, and so amusing them, at least one might get off, if the other miscarried. I took about 80 horse with me, among which were all that I had of our own regiment, amounting to above 32, and took the hills towards *Yorkshire*. Here we met with such impassable hills, vast moors, rocks and stony ways, as lamed all our horses, and tired our men ; and sometimes I was ready to think we should never be able to get over them, till our horses failing, and jack-boots being but indifferent things to travel in, we might be starved before we should find any road or towns, for guide we had none, except a boy who knew but little, and would cry when we asked him any questions. I believe neither man nor horse ever passed in some places we went, and for 20 hours we saw not a town or a house, excepting sometimes from the top of mountains, at a vast distance. I am persuaded we might have encamped here, if we had had provisions, till the war had been over, and have met with no disturbance ; and I have often wondered since, how we got into such horrible places, as much as how we got out. That which was worse to us than all the rest, was, that we knew not where we were going, nor what part of the country we should come into, when we got out of these desolate crags.

At last, after a terrible fatigue, we began to see the western parts of *Yorkshire*, some few villages, and the country at a distance, looked a little like *England* ; for before I thought it
looked

looked a little like *Old Brennus* hill, which the *Trifons* called the grandfather of the *Alps*. We got some relief in the villages, which indeed some of us had so much need of, that they were hardly able to fit their horses, and others were forced to help them off, they were so faint. I ever felt so much of the power of hunger in my life; for having not eaten in 30 hours, I was ravenous as a hound; and if I had had a piece of horse-flesh, I believe I should not have had patience to wait the dressing of it, but eaten upon it raw, and have eaten it as greedily as a *Tartar*.

However, I eat very cautiously, having often seen the danger of men's eating heartily after long fasting. Our next care was to enquire the way. *Halifax*, they told us, was on our right; here we dare not think of going; *Skippon* was before us, and there we knew not how it was; or a body of 3000 horse, sent out by the enemy in pursuit of Prince *Rupert*, had been there but two days before, and the country people could not tell us, whether they were gone or not: and *Manchester's* horse, which were sent out after our party, were then at *Halifax*, in quest of us, and afterward marched into *Chester*. In this distress we would have hired a guide, but none of the country people would go with us; for the roundheads would hang them, they said, when they came there. Upon this I called a fellow to me, "Harke ye friend (says I) dost thee know the way so as to bring us into *Westmoreland*, and not keep the great road

road from *York*?" "Ay merry (says he) I ken the way weel enou;" "and you would go and guide us (says I) but that you are afraid the roundheads will hang you?" "Indeed would I" (says the fellow). "Why then (says I) thou hadst as good be hanged by a roundhead as a cavalier; for if thou wilt not go, I'll hang thee just now." "Na, and ye sarve me soa (says the fellow) Ise ene gang wi' ye; for I care not for hanging; and ye'll get me a horse, Ise gang and be one of ye, for I'll nere come heame mere." This pleased us still better, and we mounted the fellow; for three of our men died that night with the extreme fatigue of the last service.

Next morning, when our new trooper was mounted and cloathed, we hardly knew him; and this fellow led us by such ways, such wildernesses, and yet with such prudence, keeping the hills to the left, that we might have the villages to refresh ourselves, that without him, we had certainly either perished in those mountains, or fallen into the enemy's hands. We passed the great road from *York* so critically, as to time, that from one of the hills he shewed us a party of the enemy's horse, who were then marching into *Westmoreland*. We lay still that day, finding we were not discovered by them, and our guide proved the best scout we could have had; for he would go out ten miles at a time, and bring us in all the news of the country. Here he brought us word, that *York* was surrendered upon articles, and that *Newcastle*, which

hich had been surpris'd by the King's party, as besieg'd by another army of *Scots* advanced to help their brethren.

Along the edges of those vast mountains we pass'd by the help of our guide, till we came into the forest of *Swale*; and finding ourselves perfectly conceal'd here, for no soldier had ever been here all the war, nor perhaps would not, if it had lasted 7 years; we thought we wanted few days rest, at least for our horses, so we resolv'd to halt, and while we did so, we made some disguises, and sent out some spies into the country; but as here were no great towns, nor any post road, we got very little intelligence.— We rested four days, and then march'd again; and indeed having no great stock of money about us, and not very free of that we had, four days were enough for those poor places to be able to maintain us.

We thought ourselves pretty secure now; but our chief care was how to get over those terrible mountains; for having pass'd the great road that leads from *York* to *Lancaster*, the crags the further northward we look'd, appear'd still more terrible, and our business was all on the other side. Our guide told us, he would bring us through, if we would have patience, which we were oblig'd to, and kept on this slow march, till he brought us to *Stanhope*, in the county of *Durham*; where some of *Goring's* horse, and two regiments of foot, had their quarters. This was 19 days from the battle of *Marston-moor*. The Prince who was then at *Kendal* in *Westmoreland*,

moreland, who had given me over as lost, when he had news of our arrival, sent an express to me, to meet at *Appleby*. I went thither accordingly, and gave him an account of our journey, and there I heard the short history of the other part of our men, whom we parted from in *Lancashire*. They made the best of their way north; they had two resolute gentlemen who commanded; and being so closely pursued by the enemy, that they found themselves under a necessity of fighting, halted and faced about, expecting the charge. The boldness of the action made the officer who led the enemy's horse (which it seems were the county horse only) afraid of them; which they perceiving, took the advantage of his fears, bravely advanced and charged them, and, though they were above 200 horse, routed them, killed about 30 or 40, got some horses and money, and pushed on their march night and day; but coming near *Lancaster*, they were so way-laid and pursued, that they agreed to separate, and shift every man for himself; many of them fell into the enemy's hands, some were killed attempting to pass through the river *Lune*; some went back again, six or seven got to *Bolton*, and about 18 got safe to Prince *Rupert*.

The Prince was in a better condition hereabouts than I expected; he and Lord *Goring*, with the help of Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and the gentlemen of *Cumberland*, had got a booty of 4000 horse and about 6000 foot; they had re-taken *Newcastle*, *Tinmouth*, *Durham*, *Stock-*
ton,

ten, and several towns of consequence from the Scots, and might have cut them out work enough still, if those base people, resolved to engage their whole interest to ruin their sovereign, had not sent a second army of 10000 men, under the Earl of *Calender*, to help their first. These came and laid siege to *Newcastle*, but found more vigorous resistance now than they had done before.

There were in the town Sir *John Morley*, the Lord *Crawford*, Lord *Rea* and *Maxwell*, Scots, and old soldiers, who were resolved their countrymen should buy the town very dear if they had it; and had it not been for our disaster at *Marston-moor*, they had never had it; for *Calender*, finding he was not able to carry the town, sent to General *Leven* to come from the siege of *York* to help him.

Mean time, the Prince forms a very good army, and the Lord *Goring*, with 10000 men shews himself on the borders of *Scotland*, to try if that might not cause the Scots to recall their forces; and, I am persuaded had he entered *Scotland*, the parliament of *Scotland* would have recalled the Earl of *Calender*, for they had but 5000 men left in arms to send against him; but he was loath to venture. However, this effect it had, it called the Scots northward again, and found them work there for the rest of the summer, to reduce the several towns in the bishopric of *Durham*.

I found with the Prince the poor remains of my regiment, which when joined with those that

that had been with me, could not all make up three troops, and but two captains, three lieutenants and one cornet; the rest were dispersed, killed or taken prisoners. However, with those, which we still called a regiment, I joined the Prince, and after having done all we could on that side, the *Scots* being returned from *York*, the Prince returned through *Lancashire* to *Chester*.

The enemy often appeared and alarmed us, and once fell on one of our parties, and killed us about a hundred men; but we were too many for them to pretend to fight us, so we came to *Bolton*, beat the troops of the enemy near *Warrington*, where I got a cut with a halberd in my face, and arrived at *Chester* the beginning of *August*.

The parliament, upon their great success in the north, thinking the King's forces quite broken, had sent their General *Essex* into the west, where the King's army were commanded by Prince *Maurice*, Prince *Rupert's* elder brother, but not very strong; and the King being, as they supposed, by the absence of Prince *Rupert*, weakened so much, that he might be checked by Sir *William Waller*, who, with 4500 foot, and 1500 horse, was at that time about *Winchester*, having lately beaten Sir *Ralph Hopton*. Upon all these considerations, the Earl of *Essex* marches westward.

The forces in the west being too weak to oppose him, every thing gave way, and all people expected he would besiege *Exeter*, where the
Queen

queen was now lying in, and sent a trumpet to fire he would forbear the city, while she could be removed; which he did, and passed on westward, took *Tiverton*, *Biddeford*, *Barnstable*, *Lan-
don*; relieved *Plymouth*, drove Sir *Richard
Greenvil* up into *Cornwall*, and followed him
thither, but left Prince *Maurice* behind him
with 4000 men about *Barnstable* and *Exeter*. The
King, in the mean time, marched from
Oxford to *Worcester*, with *Waller* at his heels;
Edgehill his Majesty turned upon *Waller*, and
gave him a brush to put him in mind of the
place; the King went on to *Worcester*, sent 3000
men to relieve *Durley* castle, besieged by the
irl of *Denby*, and sending part of his forces to
Windsor, returns to *Oxford*.

His Majesty had now firmly resolved to march
to the west, not having yet any account of
his misfortunes in the north. *Waller* and *Middle-
ton* way-laid the King at *Cropley* bridge: his
Majesty assaulted *Middleton* at the bridge; *Wal-
ter*'s men were posted with some cannon to guard
the pass; *Middleton* put a regiment of the King's
foot to the rout, and pursued them; and *Waller*'s
men, willing to come in for the plunder, and
knowing their general had often used them to, quit
their post at the pass and their great guns, to
take part in the victory. The King coming in
seasonably to the relief of his men, routed *Middle-
ton*, and at the same time sent a party round
to elapt in between Sir *William Waller*'s men
and their great guns, and secured the pass and
the town too. The King took three colonels,
beside

beside other officers, and about 300 men prisoners, with eight great guns, 19 carriages of ammunition, and killed about 200 men.

Waller lost his reputation in this fight, and was slighted exceedingly ever after, even by his own party ; but especially by such as were of General *Essex's* party, between whom and *Waller* there had been jealousies and misunderstandings for some time,

The King, about 800 strong, marched on to *Bristol*, where Sir *William Hopton* joined him ; and from thence he follows *Essex* into *Cornwall* ; *Essex* still following *Greenvil*, the King went to *Exeter*, and joining with Prince *Maurice*, resolved to pursue *Essex* ; and now the Earl of *Essex* began to see his mistake, being cooped up between two seas, the King's army in his rear, the country his enemy, and Sir *Richard Greenvil* in his van.

The King, who always took the best measures when left to his own counsel, wisely refuses to engage, though superior in number, and much stronger in horse. *Essex* often drew out to fight, but the King fortified, took the passes and bridges, planted cannon, and secured the country to keep off provisions, and continually straitened their quarters, but would not fight.

Now *Essex* sent away to the parliament for help, and they wrote to *Waller*, *Middleton* and *Manchester*, to follow, and come up with the King in his rear ; but some were too far off, and could not, as *Manchester* and *Fairfax* ; others made no haste, as having no mind to it, *Waller*
and

nd *Middleton*, and if they had, it had been too late.

At last, the Earl of *Essex* finding nothing to be done, and unwilling to fall into the King's hands, takes shipping, and leaves his army to shift for themselves. The horse under Sir *William Balfour*, the best horse officer, and without comparison, the bravest in all the parliament army, advanced in small parties, as if to skirmish, but following in with the whole body, being 3500 horse, broke through and got off. Though this was a loss to the King's victory, yet the foot were now in a condition so much the worse. Brave old *Skipton* proposed to fight through with the foot and die (as he called it) like *Englishmen*, with sword in hand, but the rest of the officers shook their heads at it; for, being well paid, they had at present no need for dying.

Seeing it thus, they agreed to treat, and the King granted them conditions, upon laying down their arms, to march off free. This was so much; had his Majesty but obliged them upon oath not to serve again for a certain time, he had done his business; but this was not thought of; so they passed free, only disarmed, the soldiers not being allowed so much as their swords.

The King gained by this treaty 40 pieces of cannon, all brass, 300 barrels of gunpowder, 100 arms, 8000 swords, match and bullet in proportion, 200 waggons, 150 colours and standards, all the bag and baggage of the army, and

and about 1000 of the men lifted in his army. This was a complete victory without bloodshed; and, had the King but secured the men from serving but for six months, it had most effectually answered the battle of *Marston-moor*.

As it was, it infused new life into all his Majesty's forces and friends, and retrieved his affairs very much; but especially it encouraged us in the north, who were more sensible of the blow received at *Marston-moor*, and of the destruction the *Scots* were bringing upon us all.

While I was at *Chester*, we had some small skirmishes with Sir *William Brereton*. One morning in particular, Sir *William* drew up, and faced us, and one of our colonels of horse observing the enemy to be not, as he thought, above 200, desired leave of Prince *Rupert* to attack them with the like number, and accordingly he sallied out with 200 horse. I stood drawn up without the city with 800 more, ready to bring him off, if he should be put to the worst, which happened accordingly; for not having discovered neither the country nor the enemy as he ought, Sir *William Brereton* drew him into an ambuscade; so that before he came up with Sir *William's* forces, near enough to charge, he finds about 300 horse his rear: tho' he was surprised at this, yet, being a man of a ready courage, he boldly faced about with 150 of his men, leaving the other 50 to face Sir *William*. With this small party, he desperately charged the 300 horse in his rear, and putting them into disorder, broke through them, and
had

ere been no greater force, he had cut
ll in pieces. Flushed with this success,
th to desert the 50 men he had left be-
ne faced about again, and again charged
n them, and with these two charges en-
buted them. Sir *William Brereton* finding
a little disappointed, advanced and fell
ne 50 men just as the colonel came up to
they fought him with a great deal of bra-
ut the colonel being unfortunately killed
irst charge, the men gave way, and came
g in confusion, with the enemy at their

As soon as I saw this, I advanced, ac-
; to my orders, and the enemy, as soon
beared, gave over the pursuit. This gen-
, as I remember, was Colonel *Morrough*;
ched off his body, and retreated into

next morning the Prince drew out of
y with about 1200 horse and 2000 foot,
acked Sir *William Brereton* in his quar-
The fight was very sharp for the time,
ir 700 men, on both sides, were killed;

William would not put it to a general
ment, so the Prince drew off, and content-
self to have insulted him in his quarters.

now had received orders from the King
him; but I representing to the Prince
dition of my regiment, which was now
en, and, that being within 25 miles of
her's house, I might soon recruit it, my
having got some men together already, I
leave to lie at *Shrewsbury* for a month,

to make up my men. Accordingly, having obtained his leave, I marched to *Wrexham*, where, in two days I got 20 men, and so on to *Shrewsbury*. I had not been here above ten days, when I received an express to come away with what recruits I had got together, Prince *Rupert* having positive orders to meet the King by a certain day. I had not mounted 100 men, though I had lifted above 200, when these orders came; but leaving my father to complete them for me, I marched with those I had, and came to *Oxford*.

The King, after the rout of the parliament forces in the west, was marched back, too *Barnstable*, *Plympton*, *Lanceston*, *Tiverton*, and several other places, and left *Plymouth* besieged by Sir *Richard Grenvil*, met with Sir *William Waller* at *Shaftsbury*, again at *Andover*, and boxed him at both places, marched for *Newbury*. Here the King sent for Prince *Rupert* to meet him, who with 3000 horse made long marches to join him; but the parliament having joined their three armies together, *Manchester* from the north, *Waller* and *Essex*, the men being clothed and armed, from the west, had attacked the King, and obliged him to fight the day, before the Prince came up.

The King had so posted himself, as that he could not be obliged to fight but with advantage; the parliament's forces being superior in number, and therefore, when they attacked him, he galled them with his cannon, and declining to come to a general battle, stood upon the

he defensive, expecting Prince *Rupert* with the horse.

The parliament's forces had some advantage over our foot, and took the Earl of *Cleveland* prisoner; but the King, whose foot were not above one to two, drew his men under the canon of *Dennington* castle, and having secured his artillery and baggage, made a retreat with his foot in very good order, having not lost in all the fight above 300 men, and the parliament many. We lost five pieces of cannon and took two, having repulsed the Earl of *Manchester's* men on the north side of the town, with considerable loss.

The King, having lodged his train of artillery and baggage in *Dennington* castle, marched the next day for *Oxford*; there we joined him with 3000 horse, and 2000 foot. Encouraged with this reinforcement, the King appeared upon the hills on the north-west of *Newberry*, and faced the parliament army. The parliament having too many generals as well as soldiers, they could not agree whether they should fight or not. This was no great token of the victory they boasted of; for they were not twice our numbers in the whole, and their foot three or one. The King stood in battalia all day, and finding the parliament forces had no mind to engage him, he drew away his cannon and baggage out of *Dennington* castle, in view of our whole army, and marched to *Oxford*.

This was such a false step of the parliament generals, that all the people cried shame of them.
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The parliament appointed a committee to enquire into it. *Cromwell* accused *Manchester*, and he *Waller*, and so they laid the fault upon one another. *Waller* would have been glad to have charged it upon *Essex*; but as it happened he was not in the army, having been taken ill some days before; but as it generally is when a mistake is made, the actors fall out among themselves, so it was here. No doubt it was a false step as that of *Cornwall*, to let the King fetch away his baggage and cannon in the face of three armies, and never fire a shot.

The King had not above 8000 foot in his army, and they above 25000. It is true, the King had 8000 horse, a fine body, and much superior to theirs; but the foot might, with the greatest ease in the world, have prevented the removing the cannon, and in three days have taken the castle, with all that was in it.

Those differences produced their self-denying ordinance, and the putting by most of their old generals, as *Essex*, *Waller*, *Manchester*, and the like; and Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, a terrible man in the field, though the mildest of men out of it, was voted to have the command of all their forces, and *Lambert* to take the command of Sir *Thomas Fairfax's* troops in the north, old *Skippon* being major-general.

This winter was spent on the enemy's side in modelling, as they called it, their army; and on our side, in recruiting, and some petty excursions. Amongst the many addresses, I observed one from *Suffex* or *Surry*, complaining of the

rudeness of their soldiers, and particularly the ravishing of women and the murdering men; from which I only observed, that there were disorders among them, as well as among the King's, only with this difference, that they, for reasons I mentioned before, were under circumstances to prevent it better than the King: but must do his Majesty's memory that justice, he used all possible methods, by punishing soldiers, charging, and sometimes entreating gentlemen not to suffer such disorders and such violences in their men; but it was too hard for his Majesty to attempt it, while his officers, generals, and great men, winked at it; the licentiousness of the soldier is supposed to be approved by the officer, when it is not corrected.

The rudeness of the parliament soldiers began to breed divisions among their officers; for, in many places, the soldiers grew so out of all discipline, and so unsufferably rude, that they in particular refused to march when Sir *William Brouncker* went to *Weymouth*. This had turned to the disadvantage of us, had these cursed *Scots* been in our way, but they were the staff of the King; and now they were daily solicited to march southward, which was a very great assistance to the King, and all his friends.

One booty the King got at this time, which was a very seasonable assistance to his affairs, viz. a great merchant ship richly laden at *London*, bound to the *East-Indies*, was, by the sea, brought into *Bristol*, and delivered up to the

the King. Some merchants in *Bristol* offered the King 40000*l.* for her, which his Majesty ordered should be accepted, reserving only 30 great guns for his own use.

The treaty at *Uxbridge* now was begun, and we that had been well beaten in the war, heartily wished the King would come to a peace; but we all foresaw the clergy would ruin it all. The commons were for presbytery, and would never agree the bishops should be restored; the King was more willing to comply with any thing than this, and we foresaw it would be so; from whence we used to say among ourselves, *That the clergy were resolved if there was no bishop there should be no King.*

This treaty at *Uxbridge* was a perfect war between the men of the gown, ours was between those of the sword; and I cannot but take notice how the lawyers, statesmen, and the clergy of every side bestirred themselves, rather to hinder than promote the peace.—There had been a treaty at *Oxford* some time before, where the parliament insisting that the King should pass a bill to abolish episcopacy, quit the militia, abandon several of his faithful servants to be exempted from pardon, and several other most extravagant demands. Nothing was done, but the treaty broke off, both parties being rather farther exasperated, than inclined to hearken to conditions.

However, soon after the success in the west, his Majesty, to let them see that victory had not puffed him up so as to make him reject the
peace,

peace, sent a message to the parliament, to put them in mind of messages of like nature which they had slighted ; and to let them know, that notwithstanding he had beaten their forces, he was yet willing to hearken to a reasonable proposal for putting an end to the war.

The parliament pretended the King, in his message, did not treat with them as a legal parliament, and so made hesitations ; but after long debates and delays they agreed to draw up propositions for peace to be sent to the King. As this message was sent to the houses about *August*, I think they made it the middle of *November* before they brought propositions for a peace ; and, when they brought them, they had no power to enter either upon a treaty, or so much as preliminaries for a treaty, only to deliver the letter, and receive an answer.

However, such were the circumstances of affairs at this time, that the King was uneasy to see himself thus treated, and take no notice of it. The King returned an answer to the propositions, and proposed a treaty by commissioners which the parliament appointed.

Three months more were spent in naming commissioners. There was much time spent in this treaty, but little done ; the commissioners debated chiefly the article of religion, and of the militia ; in the latter they were very likely to agree, in the former both sides seemed too positive. The King would by no means abandon episcopacy, nor the parliament presbytery ; for both in their opinion were *Jure divino*.

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The commissioners finding this point hardest to adjust, went from it to that of the militia; but the time spinning out, the King's commissioners demanded longer time for the treaty; the other sent up for instructions, but the house refused to lengthen out the time.—This was thought an insolence upon the King, and gave all good people a detestation of such haughty behaviour; and thus the hopes of peace vanished, both sides prepared for war with as much eagerness as before.

The parliament were employed at this time, in what they called modelling their army; that is to say, that now the independent party beginning to prevail; and, as they outdid all the others in their resolution of carrying on the war to all extremities, so they were both the more vigorous and more politic party in carrying it on.—Indeed the war was after this carried on with greater animosity than ever, and the generals pushed forward with a vigour, that, as it had something in it unusual, told us plainly from this time, whatever they did before, they now pushed at the ruin even of Monarchy itself. All this while also the war went on, and though the parliament had no settled army, yet their regiments and troops were always in action; and the sword was at work in every part of the kingdom.

Among an infinite number of party skirmishes and fights this winter, one happened that nearly concerned me, which was the surprise of the town and castle of *Shrewsbury*. Colonel
Mitton,

Stilton, with about 1200 horse and foot, having intelligence by some people of the place, on *Sunday* morning early broke into the town, and took it, castle and all. The loss for the garrison, more than the number, was very great for the King's affairs. They took there 15 pieces of cannon, Prince *Maurice's* magazine of arms and ammunition, Prince *Rupert's* baggage, above 50 persons of quality and officers. There was not above 8 or 10 men killed on both sides; for the town was surprised not stormed. I had no particular loss in this action; for all the men and horses my father had got together for the recruiting my regiment, were here lost and dispersed; and, which was the worse, my father's baggage, which was then in the town, was taken prisoner, and carried to *Beefton* castle in *Cheshire*.

I was quartered all this winter at *Banbury*, and went little abroad; nor had we any action till the latter end of *February*, when I was ordered to march to *Leicester* with Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, in order, as we thought, to raise a body of men in that county and *Staffordshire*, to fight for the King.

We lay at *Daventry* one night, and continuing our march to pass the river above *Northampton*, that town being possessed by the enemy, we understood a party of *Northampton* forces were abroad, and intended to attack us. Accordingly, in the afternoon our scouts brought word, the enemy were quartered in some villages on the road to *Coventry*; our commander thinking it much better to set upon them in their

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quarters,

quarters, than to wait for them in the field, resolved to attack them early in the morning, before they were aware of it. We refreshed ourselves in the field for that day, and getting into a great wood near the enemy, we staid there all night, till almost break of day, without being discovered.

In the morning very early we heard the enemy's trumpets found to horse; this roused us to look abroad; and, sending out a scout, he brought us word a party of the enemy were at hand. We were vexed to be so disappointed, but finding their party small enough to be dealt with, Sir *Marmaduke* ordered me to charge them with 300 horse and 200 dragoons, while he at the same time entered the town. Accordingly I lay still till they came to the very skirt of the wood where I was posted, when I saluted them with a volley from my dragoons out of the wood, and immediately shewed myself with my horse on their front, ready to charge them; they appeared not to be surprised, and received our charge with great resolution; and, being above 400 men, they pushed me vigorously in their turn, putting my men into some disorder. In this extremity I sent to order the dragoons to charge them in the flank, which they did with great bravery, and the other still maintained the fight with desperate resolution. There was no want of courage in the men on both sides; but our dragoons had the advantage, and at last routed and drove them back to the village.— Here Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* had his hands full too;

200; for my firing had alarmed the places adjacent, that when he came into the town, he found them all in arms; and, contrary to his expectation, 100 regiments of foot, with about 500 horse more. As Sir *Marmaduke* had no foot, only horse and dragoons, this was a surprise to him; but he caused his dragoons to enter the town, and charge the foot, while his horse secured the avenues.

The dragoons bravely attacked the foot, and Sir *Marmaduke* falling in with his horse, the fight was obstinate and very bloody, when the horse that I had routed came flying into the street of the village, and my men at their heels. Immediately I left the pursuit, and fell in with all my force to the assistance of my friends, and after an obstinate resistance, we routed the whole party; killed about 700 men, took 350, 27 officers, 100 arms, all their baggage, and 200 horses, and continued our march to *Harborough*, where we halted to refresh ourselves.

Between *Harborough* and *Leicester* we met with a party of 800 dragoons of the parliament forces. They found themselves too few to attack; and therefore, to avoid us had got into a small wood; but perceiving themselves discovered, came boldly out, and placed themselves at the entrance of a lane, lining both sides of the hedges with their shot. We immediately attacked, and beat them from the hedges into the wood, and out of it, and forced them at last to a downright runaway, on foot, among the inclosures, where we could not follow them,
killed

killed about 100, and took 250 prisoners, with all their horses, and came that night to *Leicester*. When we came there, and had taken up our quarters, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* sent for me to sup with him, and told me, that he had a secret commission in his pocket, which his Majesty had commanded him not to open till he came to *Leicester*; that now he had sent for me to open it together, that we might know what it was we were to do, and to consider how to do it; so pulling out his sealed orders, we found we were to get what force we could together, and a certain number of carriages with ammunition, which the Governor of *Leicester* was to deliver us; and a certain quantity of provision, especially corn and salt, and to relieve *Newark*. This town had been long besieged: the fortifications of the place, together with its situation, had rendered it the strongest place in *England*; and, as it was the greatest pass in the kingdom, so it was of vast consequence to the King's affairs. There was in it a garrison of brave old rugged boys, fellows, that, like Count *Tilly's Germans*, had iron faces, and they had defended themselves with extraordinary bravery a great while, but were reduced to an exceeding strait for want of provisions.

Accordingly we received the ammunition and provision, and away we went for *Newark*; about *Melton-Mowbray*, Colonel *Roseter* set upon us, with above 3000 men; we were about the same number, having 2500 horse, and 800 dragoons. We had some foot, but they were still

at

* *Harborough*, and were ordered to come after us.

Roseter, like a brave officer, as he was, charged us with great fury, and rather outdid us in number, while we defended ourselves with all the eagerness we could, and withal gave him to understand we were not so soon to be beaten as he expected. While the fight continued doubtful, especially on our side, our people, who had charge of the carriages and provisions, began to enclose our flanks with them, as if we had been marching; which, though it was done without orders, had two very good effects, and which did us extraordinary service. First, it secured us from being charged in the flank, which *Roseter* had twice attempted; and, secondly, it secured our carriages from being plundered, which had spoiled our expedition. Being thus enclosed, we fought with great security; and though *Roseter* made three desperate charges upon us, he could never break us. Our men received him with so much courage, and kept their order so well, that the enemy finding it impossible to force us, gave over, and left us to pursue our orders. We did not offer to chase them, but contented enough to have repulsed and beaten them off, and our business being to relieve *Newark*, we proceeded.

If we are to reckon by the enemy's usual method, we got the victory, because we kept the field, and had the pillage of their dead; but otherwise, neither side had any great cause to boast. We lost about 150 men, and near as many.

many hurt; they left 170 on the spot, and carried off some. How many they had wounded we could not tell; we got 70 or 80 horse, which helped to remount some of our men that had lost theirs in the fight. We had, however, this disadvantage, that we were to march on immediately after this service; the enemy only to retire to their quarters, which was but hard by. This was an injury to our wounded men, who were after obliged to leave at *Belvoir* castle, and from thence we advanced to *Newark*.

Our business at *Newark* was to relieve the place, and this we resolved to do, whatever it cost, though, at the same time, we resolved not to fight, unless we were forced to it. The town was rather blocked up than besieged; the garrison was strong, but ill provided; we had sent them word of our coming, and our orders to relieve them, and they proposed some measures for our doing it. The chief strength of the enemy lay on the other side of the river; but they having also some notice of our design, had sent over forces to strengthen their leaguer on this side. The garrison had often surprised them by sallies, and indeed had chiefly subsisted for some time by what they brought in on this manner.

Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, who was our general for the expedition, was for a general attempt to raise the siege; but I persuaded him from it; first, "Because if we should be beaten, as might be probable, we then lost the town." Sir *Marmaduke* briskly replied, "A soldier ne-

ver

ver ought to suppose he should be beat." " But, Sir (says I) you will get more honour by relieving the town, than by beating them: one will be a credit to your conduct, as the other will be to your courage; and, if you think you can beat them, you may do it afterward, and then if you are mistaken, the town is nevertheless secured, and half your victory gained."

He was prevailed with to adhere to this advice, and accordingly we appeared before the town about two hours before night. The horse drew up before the enemy's works; the enemy drew up within their works, and seeing no foot, expected when our dragoons would dismount and attack them. They were in the right to let us attack, because of the advantage of their batteries and works, if that had been our design; but, as we intended only to amuse them, this situation of theirs effected our intent; for while we thus faced them with our horse, two regiments of foot, which came up to us but the night before, and was all the infantry we had, with the waggons of provisions, and 500 dragoons, taking a compass clean round the town, posted themselves on the lower side, by the river. Upon a signal the garrison agreed on before, they sallied out at this very juncture, with all the men they could spare, and dividing themselves in two parties, while one party moved to the left to meet our relief, the other stood on upon part of that body which faced us. We kept in motion, and upon this signal advanced to their works, and our dragoons fired upon

upon them; and the horse wheeling and counter-marching often, kept them continually expecting to be attacked. By this means the enemy were kept employed, and our foot with the waggons, appearing on that quarter where they were least expected, easily defeated the advanced guards, and forced that post, where entering the leaguer, the other part of the garrison, who had sallied that way, came up to them, received the waggons and the dragoons entered with them into the town. That party which we faced on the other side of the works; knew nothing of what was done till all was over; the garrison retreated to the town in good order, and we drew off, having finished what we came for, with little fighting.

Thus we plentifully stored the town with all things wanting, and with an addition of 500 dragoons to their garrison; after which we marched away.* Our next orders were to relieve

* The town of *Newark* being an important pass from the south of *England* to the north, and having a strong castle which defended the bridge over a small branch of the Trent, and commanded, by its numerous garrison, the main river near the village of *Kelham*. It was then encompassed with a strong wall, four or five gates, a ditch, a covered way, and bastions well mounted with cannon.—Sir *Richard Byron* of *Newstead*, had the charge of this county for the King, as well as the care of this great fortress. The loyal inhabitants, who declared for his Majesty in the very beginning of the civil wars, carried arms, to a man; and there were generally in the place, near 4000 foot, and from 500 to 1000 horse; who frequently made excursions, and were very troublesome to the parliament's friends at *Nottingham*, *Linc.*, and the parts adjacent.

lieve *Pontefract* castle, another garrison of the King's, which had been besieged ever since the fight at *Marston-moor*, by *Lord Fairfax*, Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and other generals in their turn.—By the way, we were joined with 800 horse out of *Derbyshire*, and some foot, so many s made us, about 4500 men in all.

Colonel *Forbes*, a *Scotchman*, commanded at the siege, in the absence of *Lord Fairfax*; the Colonel had sent to my lord for more troops, and his lordship was gathering his forces to

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come

In the year 1645, the parliament had a strong garrison in *Nottingham* castle, who had the care of two redoubts, at the south end of *Nottingham Trent* bridge, which commanded the passage over the river into the town. A strong party consisting of near 2000 men, horse and foot, with four pieces of cannon, marched in the dead of night from *Newark*, to take these redoubts and get possession of the bridge. They began the attack with great fury, and carried one of the redoubts, sword in hand, but a strong body from the garrison in the castle, and a regiment of foot which lay in the town of *Nottingham*, coming to the assistance of the party in the second redoubt, it was thought best to abandon the enterprize, as too hazardous; and the brave party made good retreat to *Newark*, after having lost about 60 killed the attack. The dead they left behind, but carried off six wounded.—In the year 1739, when the turnpike road is forming from *Nottingham Trent* bridge to *Loughborough*, digging for gravel, many human bones, skulls, and pieces of broken armour were found, about 60 yards from the bridge, of which the editor of this note was an eye-witness.

The loyal garrison of *Newark*, was a terrible thorn in the sides of the parliament forces; no wonder, then, they determined to get possession of so important a place; they laid regular sieges to it three several times, yet never took it; and the brave garrison were always, by the care of the King and his generals, relieved with men, money, provisions and ammunition.

come up to him; but he was pleased to come too late. We came up with the enemy's le-
guer about break of day, and having been di-
covered by their scouts, they, with more cou-
rage than discretion, drew out to meet us. We
saw no reason to avoid them, being stronger in
horse than they; and though we had but a few
foot, we had 1000 dragoons. Our horse and
foot were placed throughout in one line, with
two reserve of horse, and between every divi-
sion of horse, a division of foot, only that on
the extremes of our wings, there were two par-
ties of horse in each point by themselves, and
the dragoons in the centre, on foot. Their foot
charged us home, and stood with push of pike
a great while; but their horse charging our
horse and musqueteers, and being closed on the
flanks with those two extended troops on our
wings,

ammunition. Prince *Rupert*, at the second siege, made a
long and forced march, from the borders of *Wales*, at the
positive commands of his Sovereign, for its relief, which
he did to his great honour, at a time when the garrison were
driven to despair, and took a fine train of artillery and a
magazine of fire-arms; nor did it surrender till the King's
affairs were in the most desperate situation, and it was made
an article in the preliminaries for a peace, that it should be
put into the hands of his enemies. And even then, Dr.
Thoroton informs us, the garrison were much inclined to
disobey the King's orders; and Mr. *Smith*, the brave mayor
of the town, shed tears, and urged Lord *John Bellesis*, the
governor, to trust God and sally: but the plague at that
time made most terrible havock in the town.

We cannot conclude this note, without relating some
incidents that happened at the second siege of *Newark*, in
the year 1644.—Mr. *Clay*, a tradesman of eminence, whose
house

, they were presently disordered, and fled the field. The foot, thus deserted, were on every side and broken. They remained still fighting, and in good order, for a while; but the garrison rallying upon them at the same time, and being followed close by our troops, they were scattered, entirely routed, and many of them killed. Lord *Fairfax* was come on his horse as far as *Ferrybridge*, but the day was over; and all he could do was to rally what fled, and save some of their carriages, which otherwise had fallen into our hands.—We drew up our little army in order of battle the next day, expecting Lord *Fairfax* would have charged us; but his lordship was so far from any such thoughts, that he placed a party of musketeers, with orders to fortify the pass at *bridge*, to prevent our falling upon him in retreat, which he needed not have done; having raised the siege of *Pontefract*, our business was done, we had nothing to say to him, and we had been strong enough to stay.

While still standing in the market-place, I dreamt three successive times that his house was in flames; and at the conclusion of the last dream, he got up, exceedingly confused, and called the whole family, and caused them to leave the house, though, at that time, all were in perfect security, without the least appearance of fire. Soon after, a bomb battery on *Bacon Hills* (intended, as was believed, for the governor's habitation) fell on the roof of his house, and its way quite through all the floors; but happily without any little execution. In memory of this very extraordinary escape, a sermon is annually preached; a yearly sum appropriated to that purpose; and on the same day a sum given to the poor.—In the same siege, a cannon ball fell into the spire of the steeple; the hole thro' which remains open to this day.

We lost not above 30 men in this action, and the enemy 300, with about 150 prisoners, one piece of cannon, all their ammunition, 1000 arms, and most of their baggage, and Colonel *Lambert*, was once taken prisoner, being wounded, but got off again. We brought no relief for the garrison, but the opportunity to furnish themselves out of the country, which they did very plentifully. The ammunition taken from the enemy was given to them, which they wanted, and was their due; for they had seized it in the sally they made, before the enemy was quite defeated.

I cannot omit taking notice, on all occasions, how exceeding serviceable this method was of posting musqueteers in the intervals, among the horse, in all this war. I persuaded our generals too it, as much as possible; and I never knew a body of horse beaten that did so; yet I had great difficulty to prevail upon our people to believe it, though it was taught me by the greatest general in the world, the King of *Sweden*. Prince *Rupert* did it at the battle at *Marston-moor*; and had the Earl of *Newcastle* not been obstinate against it in his right wing, as I observed before, the day had not been lost. In discoursing with Sir *Marinaduke Langdale*, I had related several examples of the service of these small bodies of firemen, and, with great difficulty, brought him to agree, telling him, I would be answerable for the success, but, after the fight, he told me plainly he saw the advantage of it, and would never fight otherwise
again,

gain, if he had any foot to place. So having relieved these two places, we hastened, by long marches, through *Derbyshire*, to join Prince Rupert on the edge of *Shropshire* and *Cheshire*. We found Colonel Roseter had followed us at a distance, ever since the business at *Melton-Mowbray*, but never cared to attack us, and we found he did the like still. Our general would fain have been doing with him again, but we found him too shy. Once we laid a trap for him at *Over-Bridge*, between *Derby* and *Barton-upon-Irent*, the body being marched two days hence; 300 dragoons were left to guard the bridge, if we were afraid he should fall upon us. Upon this we marched on to *Burton*, and, the next day, fetching a compass round, came to a village, near *Tilbury* castle, the name of which I have forgot, where we lay still, expecting our dragoons would be attacked. Accordingly the colonel, strengthened with new troops of horse from *Yorkshire*, comes up the bridge, and finding some dragoons posted, advances to charge them. The dragoons immediately got on horseback, and run for it, they were ordered; but the old lad was not to be caught so, for he halts immediately at the edge, and would not come over till he had a three or four flying parties abroad, to disorder the country. One of these parties fell into our hands, and received but coarse entertainment. Finding the plot would not take, he appeared and drew up in view of the bridge, but he would not stir: so we continued our march

march into *Cheeshire*, where we joined Prince *Rupert*, and Prince *Maurice*, making together a fine body, being above 8000 horse and dragoons.

This was the best and most successful expedition I was in during this war. It was well concerted, and executed with as much expedition and conduct as could be desired, and the success was answerable to it; and indeed, considering the season of the year (for we set out from *Oxford* the latter end of *February*) the ways bad, and the season wet, it was a terrible march of above 200 miles, in continual action, and continually dodged and observed by a vigilant enemy, and at a time when the north was over-run by their armies, and the *Scots* wanting employment for the forces; yet in less than 23 days, we marched 200 miles, fought the enemy in open field four times, relieved one garrison besieged, raised the siege of another, and joined our friends at last in safety.

The enemy was in great pain for Sir *William Brereton* and his forces, and expresses rode night and day to the *Scots* in the north, and to the parties in *Lancashire*, to come to his help. The Prince, who used to be rather too forward to fight than otherwise, could not be persuaded to make use of this opportunity, but loitered, if I may be allowed to say so, till the *Scots*, with a brigade of horse and 2000 foot, had joined him; and then it was not thought proper to engage them.

I took this opportunity to go to *Shrewsbury*

visit my father, who was a prisoner of war here, getting a pass from the enemy's governor. They allowed him the liberty of the town, and sometimes to go to his own house, upon his parole, so that his confinement was not very much to his personal injury; but this, together with the charges he had been at in raising the regiment, and above 20000*l.* in money and plate, which at several times he had lent, rather given, to the King, had reduced our family to very ill circumstances; and now they talked of cutting down his woods.

I had a great deal of discourse with my father on this affair; and finding him extremely concerned, I offered to go to the King, to desire his leave to go to *London*, and treat about a composition, or to render myself a prisoner in his stead, while he went up himself. In this difficulty I treated with the governor of the town, who very civilly offered me his pass to go for *London*, which I accepted; and waiting on Prince *Rupert*, who was then at *Worcester*, acquainted him with my design. The Prince was unwilling I should go to *London*; but told me, he had some prisoners of the parliament's hands in *Cumberland*, and he would get an exchange for my father. I told him, if he would give me his word, I knew it might be depended on, otherwise there were so many of the King's party in their hands, that his Majesty was tired with solicitations for exchanges; for he never had a prisoner but there were ten offers of exchanges for him. The Prince told me,

me, I should depend upon him; and he was as good as his word quickly after.

While the Prince lay at *Worcester* he made an excursion into *Herefordshire*; and having made some of the gentlemen prisoners, brought them to *Worcester*; and though it was an action which had not been usual, they being persons not in arms, yet the like being my father's case, who was really not in commission, nor in any military service having resigned his regiment three years before to me, the Prince insisted on exchanging them for such as the parliament had in custody in like circumstances. The gentlemen seeing no remedy, solicited their own case at the parliament, and got it passed in their behalf; and by this means my father got his liberty; and, by the assistance of the Earl of *Denbigh*, got leave to come to *London* to make a composition, as a delinquent, for his estate. This they charged at 7000*l.* but by the assistance of the same noble person, he got off for 4000*l.* Some members of the committee moved *very kindly*, that my father should oblige me to quit the King's service; but that, as a thing which might be out of his power, was not insisted on.

The modelling the parliament army took up all this winter, and we were in great hopes the divisions which appeared amongst them might have weakened their party; but when they voted Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to be general, I confess, I was convinced the King's affairs were desperate and lost. Sir *Thomas*, abating the zeal of his party,

erty, and the mistaken opinion of his cause, as the fittest man amongst them to undertake the charge. He was a complete general, strict in his discipline, wary in conduct, fearless in action, unwearied in the fatigue of the war, and withal, a modest, noble, generous disposition. We all apprehended danger from him, and heartily wished him on our own side; and the King was so sensible, though he would not discover it, that when an account was brought him of the choice they had made, he replied, he was sorry for it; he had rather it had been any body than him."

The first attempts of this new general and his army were at *Oxford*, which, by the neighbourhood of a numerous garrison in *Abingdon*, began to be very much straitened for provisions; and the new forces under *Cromwell* and *Skipton*, the lieutenant-general, the other major-general *Fairfax*, approaching with a design to block up, the King left the place, supposing his presence would draw them away, as it soon did.

The King resolving to leave *Oxford*, marched from thence with all his forces (the garrison excepted) with design to have gone to *Bristol*, but the plague being there altered his measures, and changed the course of the King's designs, so he marched for *Worcester* about the beginning of June, 1645. The foot with a train of 40 pieces of cannon, marched into *Worcester*, the horse stayed behind some time in *Gloucestershire*.

The first action our army did, was to raise the siege of *Chester*. Sir *William Brereton* had

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besieged

besieged it, or rather blocked it up, and when his Majesty came to *Worcester*, he sent Prince *Rupert*, with 4000 horse and dragoons, with orders to join some foot out of *Wales*, to raise the siege; but Sir *William* thought fit to withdraw, and not stay for them, and the town was freed without fighting. The governor took care in this interval to furnish himself with all things necessary for another siege; and, as for ammunition and other necessaries, he was in no want.

I was sent with a party into *Staffordshire*, with design to intercept a convoy of stores coming from *London*, for the use of Sir *William Breton*; but they having some notice of the design, stopt, and went out of the road to *Burton-upon-Trent*, and so I missed them; but that we might not come back empty, we attacked *Hawkley* house, and took it, where we got good booty, and brought 80 prisoners back to *Worcester*.— From *Worcester* the King advanced into *Shropshire*, and took his head quarters at *Bridgenorth*. This was a very happy march of the King's, and had his Majesty proceeded, he had certainly cleared the north once more of his enemies, for the country were generally for him. At his advancing so far as *Bridgenorth*, Sir *William Breton* fled up into *Lancashire*; the *Scots* brigades who were with him retreated into the north, while yet the King was above 40 miles from them, and all things lay open for conquest.— The new generals, *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, lay about *Oxford* preparing as if they would besiege it

t, and gave the King's army so much leisure, that his Majesty might have been at *Newcastle* before they could have been half way to him. But Heaven, when the ruin of a person or party is determined, always so infatuates their counsels, as to make them instrumental to it themselves.

The King let slip this great opportunity, as some thought, intending to break into the associated counties of *Northampton*. *Cambridge* and *Norfolk*, where he had some interests forming. What the design was, we knew not, but the King turned eastward, and marched into *Leicestershire*, and having treated the country but very indifferently, as having deserved no better of us, laid siege to *Leicester*.

This was but a short siege; for the King, resolving to lose no time, fell on with his great guns, and having beaten down their works, our foot entered, after a vigorous resistance, and took the town by storm. There was some blood shed here, the town being carried by assault, though it was their own faults; for after the town was taken, the soldiers and townsmen obstinately fought us in the market-place; inso-much that the horse were called to enter the town and clear the streets. But this was not all; I was commanded to advance with these horse, being three regiments, and to enter the town; the foot, who were engaged in the streets, crying out *horse, horse*. Immediately I advanced to the gate, for we were drawn up about musquet shot from the works, to have supported

supported our foot, in case of a sally. Having seized the gate, I placed a guard of horse there, with orders to let no body pass in or out, and dividing my troops, rode up by two ways towards the market-place; the garrison defending themselves there, and in the church-yard with great obstinacy, killed us a great many men; but, as soon as our horse appeared, they demanded quarter, which our foot refused them in the first heat, as is frequent in all nations, in like cases; till at last, they threw down their arms, and yielded at discretion; and then I can testify to the world, that fair quarter was given them. I am the more particular in this relation, having been an eye-witness of the action, and because the King was reproached in all the public libels, with which those times abounded, for having put a great many to death, and hanged the committee of the parliament, and some *Scots*, in cold blood, which was a notorious forgery; and as I am sure there was no such thing done, and must acknowledge, I never saw any inclination in his Majesty to cruelty, or to act any thing which was not practised by the general laws of war, and by men of honour in all nations.

But the matter of fact, in respect to the garrison, was as I have related; and, if they had thrown down their arms sooner, they had had mercy sooner; but it was not for a conquering army, entering a town by storm, to offer conditions of quarter in the streets.

Another circumstance was, that a great many
of

of the inhabitants, both men and women, were killed, which is most true; and the case was thus. The inhabitants to shew their overforward zeal to defend the town, fought in the reach; nay the very women, to the honour of the *Leicester* ladies (if they like it) officiously did their parts; and after the town was taken, and when, if they had been possessed of any discretion with their zeal, they would have kept their houses and been quiet; they fired upon us men out of their windows, from the tops of houses, and threw tiles upon their heads; several of my men being wounded so, and 7 or 8 killed. This exasperated us to the last degree; and, finding one house better manned than ordinary, and many shot fired at us out of the windows, I caused my men to attack it, and resolved to make them an example for the rest, which they did, and breaking open the doors, they killed all they found there, without distinction; and I appeal to the world if they were blame. If the parliament committee, or the city's deputies were here, they ought to have been quiet, since the town was taken; but they began with us, and, I think, brought it upon themselves. This is the whole case, so far as I am within my knowledge, for which his Majesty was so much abused. We took here Colonel *Gray* and Captain *Hacker*, about 300 prisoners, and about 300 more were killed. This was the last day of *May*, 1645.

His Majesty having given over *Oxford* for lost, continued here some days, viewed the town, and ordered

ordered the fortifications to be augmented, and prepared to make it the seat of war. But the parliament, roused at this appearance of the King's army, ordered their general to raise the siege of *Oxford*, where the garrison had, in a sally, ruined some of their works, and killed 150 men, taking several prisoners, and carrying them into the city; and ordered him to march towards *Leicester*, to observe the King.

His Majesty had now a small, but gallant army, all brave tried soldiers, and seemed eager to engage the new modelled army; and his Majesty, hearing that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* having raised the siege of *Oxford*, advanced towards him, fairly saved him the trouble of a long march, and met him half way.

The army lay at *Daventry*, and *Fairfax* at *Towcester*, about 8 miles off. Here the King sent away 600 horse, with 3000 head of cattle, to relieve his people in *Oxford*; the cattle he might have spared better than the men. The King having thus victualled *Oxford*, changed his resolution of fighting *Fairfax*, to whom *Cromwell* was now joined with 4000 men, or was within a day's march, and marched northward. This was unhappy counsel, because late given. Had we marched northward at first we had done it; but thus it was. Now we marched with a triumphing enemy at our heels, and at *Naseby* their advanced parties attacked our rear. The King, upon this, alters his resolution again, and resolved to fight, and at midnight calls us up at *Harborough* to come to a council of war.

Fate, and the King's opinion, deterred the council; and it was resolved to fight accordingly the van, in which was Prince Rupert's brigade of horse, of which my regiment a part, countermarched early in the morn-

ing five o'clock, the whole army, in order of battle, began to descry the enemy from the high grounds, about a mile from *Naseby*, and moved towards them. They were drawn up on the ascent in a large common fallow field, the line extended from one side of the field to the other, the field something more than a mile long, our army in the same order, in one line, the reserves.

The King led the main battle of foot, Prince Rupert the right wing of the horse, and Sir *Maduke Langdale* the left. Of the enemy, *Fairfax* and *Skippon* led the body, *Cromwell* and *Terter* the right, and *Ireton* the left. The numbers of both armies so equal, as not to differ much, save that the King had most horse by about 1000, and *Fairfax* most foot by about 1000. The number in each army were about 10000 men.

The armies coming close up, the wings engaged first. The Prince with his right wing engaged with his wonted fury, and drove all parliament's wing of horse, one division excepted, clear out of the field. *Ireton*, who commanded this wing, gave him his due, rallied often, and fought like a lion; but our horse bore down all before them, and pursued with a terrible execution. *Ireton*

Ireton seeing one division of his horse left repaired to them, and keeping his ground, fell foul of a brigadier of our foot, who coming up to the head of the line, he like a madman charges them with his horse: but they with their pikes tore him to pieces; so that the division was entirely ruined. *Ireton* himself thrust thro' the thigh with a pike, wounded in the face with a halberd, was unhorsed and taken prisoner.

Cromwell, who commanded the parliament's right wing, charged *Sir Marmaduke Langdale* with extraordinary fury; but he an old tried soldier, stood firm, and received the charge with equal gallantry, exchanging all their shot carabines and pistols, and then fell on sword in hand. *Roseter* and *Whaley* had the better on the point of the wing, and routed two divisions of horse, pushing them behind the reserves, where they rallied, and charged again, but were at last defeated; the rest of the horse now charged in the flank retreated fighting, and were pushed behind the reserves of the foot.

While this was doing, the foot engaged with equal fierceness, and for two hours there was a terrible fire. The King's foot backed with gallant officers and full of rage at the rout of their horse, bore down the enemy's brigade led by *Skippon*. The old man wounded, bleeding retreats to their reserves. All the foot, except the general's brigade, were thus driven into the reserves, where their officers rallied them, and brought them on to a fresh charge; and here the horse having driven ours about a quarter of

from the foot, faced about, and fell in rear of the foot.

Our right wing done thus, the day had secured; but Prince *Rupert* according to his custom, following the flying enemy, never concerned himself with the safety of those behind; but he returned sooner than he had done in former battles too. At our return we found all in confusion, our foot broken, all but one brigade, which, though charged in front, flank and rear, was not separated till Sir *Thomas Fairfax* came up to the charge with fresh men, when they were rather cut in pieces than scattered; for they stood with their pikes charged in a way to the last extremity.

In this condition, at the distance of a quarter of a mile, we saw the King rallying his horse, preparing to renew the fight; and our wing, now coming up to him, gave him opportunity to draw up a large body of horse, so large, that all the enemy's horse facing us, till their ranks were who had entirely broken our main battle, put into order again, and brought up to us. Some officers about the King advised his Majesty to draw off; for since our foot were so much exposed to the fury of their whole army, and that it would be too much odds to expose them to the fury of their whole army, and that it would be sacrificing his best troops, without any hopes of success.—His Majesty, though with great regret, at the loss of his foot, yet as there was no other hope, took this advantage and retreated in good order to *Harborough*, from thence to *Leicester*.

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This was the occasion of the enemy having so great a number of prisoners ; for the horse being thus gone off, the foot had no means to make their retreat, and were obliged to yield themselves. Commissary General *Ireton* being taken by a captain of foot, made the captain his prisoner to save his life, and gave him his liberty for his courtesy before.

Cromwell and *Roseter*, with all the enemy's horse, followed us as far as *Leicester*, and killed all they could lay hold on straggling from the body, but dare not attempt to charge us together. The King expecting the enemy would come to *Leicester*, removed to *Ashby-de-la-Zouch*, where we had some time to recollect ourselves.

This was the most fatal action of the whole war ; not so much for the loss of our cannon, ammunition and baggage, of which the enemy boasted so lavishly, but as it was impossible for the King ever to retrieve it. The foot, the best that ever he was master of, could never be supplied ; his army in the west were exposed to certain ruin, the north over-run with the *Scots* ; in short, the case grew *desperate*, and the King was once upon the point of bidding us all disband and shift for ourselves.

We lost in this fight not above 2000 slain, and the parliament near as many, but the prisoners were a great number ; the whole body of foot being, as I have said, dispersed, there were 4500 prisoners, beside 400 officers, 2000 horses, 12 pieces of cannon, 50 barrels of powder, all the

the King's baggage, coaches, most of his servants, and his secretary, with his cabinet of letters, of which the parliament made great improvement, and, basely enough caused his private letters between his Majesty and the Queen, her Majesty's letters to the King, and great deal of such stuff to be printed.

After this fatal blow, being retreated, as I have said to *Asby-de-la-Zouch*, in *Leicestershire*, the King ordered us to divide; his Majesty, with a body of horse, about 3000, went to *Lichfield*, and through *Cheshire* into *North-Wales* and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, with about 2500 went to *Newark*.

The King remained in *Wales* for several months; and though the length of the war had almost drained that country of men, yet his Majesty raised a great many men there, recruited his horse and got together six or seven regiments of foot, which seemed to look like the beginning of a new army.

I had frequent discourses with his Majesty in this low ebb of his affairs, and he would often wish he had not exposed his army at *Naseby*. He took the freedom once to make a proposition to his Majesty, which if had taken effect, I verily believe would have given a new turn to his affairs; and that was, at once to slight all his fortifications in the kingdom, and give private orders to all the soldiers in every place, to join in bodies, and meet at two general rendezvouses, which I would have appointed to be at *Bristol* and *West-Chester*. I demonstrated how easily
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all the forces might reach these two places ; and both being strong and very wealthy, and sea-ports, he would have a free communication by sea, with *Ireland*, and with his friends abroad ; and having *Wales* entirely his own, he might yet have an opportunity to make good terms for himself, or otherwise have another fair field with the enemy.

Upon a fair calculation of his troops in several garrisons and small bodies dispersed about, I convinced the King, by his own accounts, that he might have two compleat armies, each of 25000 foot, 8000 horse, and 2000 dragoons ; that Lord *Goring* and Lord *Hopton* might ship all their forces, and come by sea in two tides, and be with him in a shorter time than the enemy could follow.

With two such bodies he might face the enemy, and make a day of it ; but now his men were only sacrificed, and eaten up by piecemeal in a party-war, and spent their lives and estates to do him service : that if the parliament garrisoned the towns and castles he should quit, they would lessen their army, and not dare to see him in the field ; and if they did not, but left them open, then it would be no loss to him, but he might possess them as often as he pleased.—This advice I pressed with such arguments, that the King was once going to dispatch orders for the doing it ; but to be irresolute in counsel, is always the companion of a declining fortune ; the King was doubtful, and could not resolve till it was too late.

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And yet, though the King's forces were very w, his Majesty was resolved to make one adventure more, and it was a strange one; for, with but a handful of men he made a desperate march, almost 250 miles in the middle of the whole kingdom, compassed about with armies and parties innumerable, traversed the heart of his enemy's country, entered their associated frontiers, where no army had ever yet come, and in spite of all their victorious troops facing and following him, alarmed even *London* itself, and returned safe to *Oxford*.

His Majesty continued in *Wales* from the time at *Naseby* till the 5th or 6th of *August*, and till he had an account from all parts of the progress of his enemies, and the posture of his own affairs.

Here he found, that the enemy being hard pressed in *Somersetshire* by Lord *Goring* and Lord *Hopton's* forces, who had taken *Bridgewater*, and distressed *Taunton*, which was now at point of surrender, they had ordered *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, with the whole army to march forward, to relieve the town; which they did, and *Goring's* troops were worsted, and himself wounded at the fight at *Langport*.

The *Scots*, who were always the dead weight on the King's affairs, having no more work to do in the north, were, at the parliament's desire, advanced southward, and then ordered away towards *South-Wales*, and were set down to the siege of *Hereford*. Here this famous Scotch army spent several months in a fruitless siege,

siege, ill provided of ammunition, and worse with money ; and having sat near three months before the town, and done little but eat up the country round them ; upon the repeated accounts of the progress of the Marquis of *Montrose* in that kingdom, and pressing instances of their countrymen, they resolved to raise their siege, and go home to relieve their friends.

The King, who was willing to be rid of the *Scots*, upon good terms ; and therefore to hasten them, lest they should pretend to push on the siege to take the town first, gave it out, that he was resolved with all his forces to go into *Scotland*, and join *Montrose* ; and so having secured *Scotland*, to renew the war from thence.

And accordingly his Majesty marches northward, with a body of 4000 horse ; and, had the King really done this, and with that body of horse marched away (for he had the start of all his enemies, by above a fortnight's march) he had then had the fairest opportunity for a general turn of all his affairs, that he ever had in all the latter part of this war. For *Montrose*, a gallant daring soldier, who from the least shadow of force in the farthest corner of his country, had, rolling like a snow-ball, spread all over *Scotland*, was come into the south parts, and had summoned *Edinburgh*, frightened away their statesmen, beaten their soldiers at *Dundee* and other places, and letters and messengers in the heels of one another, repeated their cries to their brethren in *England*, to lay before them the sad condition of the country, and to hasten
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the army to their relief. The *Scots* lords of the enemy's party fled to *Berwick*, and the Chancellor of *Scotland* went himself to General *Lesly*, to press him for help.

In this extremity of affairs *Scotland* lay, when we marched out of *Wales*. The *Scots* at the siege of *Hereford* hearing the King was gone northward with his horse, concluded he was gone directly for *Scotland*, and immediately sent *Lesly* with 4000 horse and foot to follow, but did not yet raise the siege.—But the King irresolute still, turned away to the eastward, and came to *Lichfield*, where he shewed his resentments at Colonel *Hastings*, for his easy surrender of *Leicester*.

In this march the enemy took heart; we had troops of horse on every side upon us, like hounds started at a fresh stag. *Lesly*, with the *Scots*, and a strong body followed in our rear, Major-general *Pointz*, Sir *John Gell*, Colonel *Roseter*, and others, in our way; they pretended to be 10000 horse, and yet never durst face us. The *Scots* made one attempt upon a troop which layed a little behind, and took some prisoners; but when a regiment of our horse faced them, they retired. At a village near *Lichfield*, another party of about 1000 horse attacked my regiment; we were on the left of the army, and, a little too far a distance. I happened to be with the King at that time, and my lieutenant Colonel with me; so that the major had charge of the regiment: he made a very handsome defence, but sent messengers for speedy relief.—
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We were on a march, and therefore all ready, and the King ordered me a regiment of dragoons and 300 horse, and the body halted to bring us off, not knowing how strong the enemy might be. When I came to the place I found my major hard layed to, but fighting like a lion; the enemy had broke in upon him in two places, and had routed one troop, cutting them off from the body, and had made them all prisoners. Upon this I fell in with the 300 horse, and cleared the major from a party who charged them in the flank; the dragoons immediately lighting, one party of them came up on my wing, and saluting the enemy with their musquets, put them to a stand; the other party of dragoons wheeling to the left, endeavoured to get behind them. The enemy perceiving they should be overpowered, retreated in as good order as they could, but left us most of our prisoners, and about 30 of their own. We lost about 15 of our men, and the enemy about 40, chiefly by the fire of our dragoons in their retreat.

In this posture we continued our march; and though the King halted at *Lichfield*, which was a dangerous article, having so many of the enemy's troops upon his hands, and this time gave them opportunity to get into a body; yet the Scots, with their General *Lesly*, resolving for the north, the rest of the troops were not able to face us, till having ravaged the enemy's country through *Staffordshire*, *Warwick*, *Leicester* and *Nottinghamshire*, we came to the lea-guer before *Newark*.
The

The King was once more of the mind to have one into *Scotland*, and called a council of war to that purpose; but then it was resolved by all hands, that it would be too late to attempt it; for the *Scots*, and Major-general *Pointz* were before us, and several strong bodies of horse in our rear; so there was no venturing now, unless any advantage presented to rout one of those armies which attended us.

Upon these and like considerations, we resolved for *Newark*; on our approach the forces which blocked up that town drew off, being too weak to oppose us; for the King was now above 5000 horse and dragoons, beside 300 horse and dragoons he took with him from *Newark*.

We halted at *Newark* to assist the garrison, or rather give them time to furnish themselves from the country with what they wanted, which they were very diligent in doing; for in two days time they filled a large island which lies under the town, between the two branches of the *Trent*, with sheep, oxen, cows and horses, in incredible number; and our affairs now being something desperate, we were not very nice in our usage of the country; for really if it was not with a resolution, both to punish the enemy and enrich ourselves; no man can give any rational account why this desperate journey was undertaken.

It is certain the *Newarkers*, in the respite they gained by our coming, got above 50000*l*. from the country round them, in corn, cattle, money, and other plunder.

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From hence we broke into *Lincolnshire*, and the King lay at *Belvoir* castle, from thence to *Stamford*. Our swift march greatly surprised the enemy; for our van being at a village on the great road called *Stilton*, the country people fled into the isle of *Ely*, and every way, as if all were lost. Indeed our dragoons treated the country very coarsely; and all our men in general made themselves rich. Between *Stilton* and *Huntingdon* we had a small battle with some of the association troops of horse, but they were soon routed, and fled to *Huntingdon*; where they gave such an account of us to their fellows, that they did not think fit to stay for us, but left their foot to defend themselves as well as they could.

While this was doing in the van, a party from *Burleigh* house, near *Stamford*, the seat of the Earl of *Exeter*, pursued four troops of our horse, who straggling towards *Peterborough*, and committing some disorders there, were surprised before they could get into a posture of fighting; and encumbered, as I suppose, with their plunder, they were entirely routed, lost most of their horses, and were forced to come away on foot; but finding themselves in this condition, they got into a body in the inclosures, and in that posture, turning dragoons, they lined the hedges, and fired upon the enemy with their carbines. This way of fighting, though not very pleasant to troopers, put the enemy's horse to some stand, and encouraged our men to venture into a village, where the enemy had secured 40
of

of their horse; and boldly charging the guard, they beat them off and recovered those horses; the rest made their retreat good to *Wandsford* bridge; but we lost near 100 horses, and about 12 of our men taken prisoners.

The next day the King took *Huntingdon*; the foot which were left in the town, as I observed by their horse, had posted themselves at the foot of the bridge, and fortified the pass, with such things as the haste and shortness of the time would allow; and in this posture they seemed resolute to defend themselves. I confess, had they in time planted a good force here, they might put a full stop to our little army; for the river is large and deep, the country on the left marshy, full of drains and ditches, and unfit for horse, and we must have either turned back, or took the right hand into *Bedfordshire*; but here not being above 400 foot, and they forsaken of their horse, the resistance they made was to no other purpose than to give us occasion to knock them in the head, and plunder the town.

However, they defended the bridge, as I have said, and opposed our passage. I was this day in the van, and our forlorn having entered *Huntingdon* without any great resistance till they came to the bridge, finding it barricaded, they sent me word; I caused the troops to halt, and rode up to the forlorn, to view the countenance of the enemy, and found by the posture they had put themselves in, that they resolved to sell us the passage as dear as they could.

I sent to the King for some dragoons, and gave him an account of what I observed of the enemy, and that I judged them to be 1000 men; for I could not particularly see their numbers. Accordingly the King ordered 500 dragoons to attack the bridge, commanded by a major; the enemy had 200 musqueteers placed on the bridge, their barricade served them for a breastwork on the front, and the low walls on the bridge served to secure their flanks: two bodies of their foot were placed on the opposite banks of the river, and a reserve stood in the highway on the rear. The number of their men could not have been better ordered, and they wanted not courage answerable to the conduct of the party. They were commanded by one *Bennet*, a resolute officer, who stood in the front of his men on the bridge with a pike in his hand.

Before we began to fall on, the King ordered to view the river, to see if it was nowhere passable, nor any boat to be had; but the river not being fordable, and the boats all secured on the other side, the attack was resolved on, and the dragoons fell on with extraordinary bravery. The foot defended themselves obstinately, and beat off our dragoons twice; and though *Bennet* was killed upon the spot, and after him his lieutenant, yet their officers relieving them with fresh men, they would certainly have beat us all off, had not a venturesome fellow, one of our dragoons, thrown himself into the river, swum over, and in the midst of a shower of musquet bullets, cut the rope which tied a great flat-bottomed

flat-bottomed boat, and brought her over : with the help of this boat, I got over 100 troopers first, and then their horses ; and with this party fell in with one of the small bodies of foot that were posted on that side, and having routed them, and after them the reserve which stood in the road, I made up to the other party ; they stood their ground, and having rallied the run-aways of both the other parties, charged me with their pikes, and brought me to a retreat ; but by this time the King had sent over 300 men more, and they coming up to me, the foot retreated. Those on the bridge finding how it was, and having no supplies sent them, fainted and fled ; and the dragoons rushing forward, most of them were killed : about 150 of the enemy were killed, of which all the officers at the bridge, the rest run away.

The town suffered for it ; for our men left them little of any thing they could carry. Here we halted, and raised contributions, took money of the country, and of the open towns, to exempt them from plunder. Twice we faced the towns of *Cambridge*, and several of our officers advised his Majesty to storm it ; but having no foot, and but 1200 dragoons, wiser heads diverted him from it ; and, leaving *Cambridge* on the left, we marched to *Wooburn*, in *Bedfordshire*, and our parties raised money all over the country quite into *Hertfordshire*, within 5 miles of *St. Alban's*.

The swiftness of our march, and uncertainty which way were intended, prevented all possible

ble preparation to oppose us, and we met with no party able to make head against us. From *Woburn* the King went through *Buckingham* to *Oxford*; some of our men straggling in the villages for plunder, were often picked up by the enemy; but in all this long march we did not loose 200 men, got an incredible booty, and brought 6 waggons laden with money, beside 2000 horses, and 3000 head of cattle into *Oxford*.—From *Oxford* his Majesty moved again into *Gloucestershire*, having left about 1500 of his horse at *Oxford*, to scour the country, and raise contributions, which they did as far as *Reading*.

Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was returned from taking *Bridgewater*, and was sat down before *Bristol*, in which Prince *Rupert* commanded with a strong garrison, 25000 foot and 1000 horse. We had not force enough to attempt any thing there; but the *Scots*, who lay still before *Hereford*, were afraid of us, having before parted with all their horse under Lieutenant-general *Lestly*, and but ill stored with provisions; and, if we came on their backs, were in a fair way to be starved, or made to buy their provisions at the price of their blood.

His Majesty was sensible of this, and had we had but ten regiments of foot, would certainly have fought the *Scots*; but we had no foot, or so few as was not worth while to march them. However, the King marched to *Worcester*, and the *Scots* apprehending they should be blocked up, immediately raised the siege, pretending it

was

as to go to help their brethren in *Scotland*, and
 way they marched northward.

We picked up some of their stragglers, but
 they were so poor, had been so ill paid, and so
 arrased at the siege, that they had neither mo-
 ny nor cloaths; and the poor soldiers fed upon
 apples and roots, and ate the very green corn
 it grew in the fields, which reduced them to
 a very sorry condition of health, for they died
 like people infected with the plague.

It was now debated whether we should yet
 march for *Scotland*, but two things prevented a
 first, The plague was broke out there, and
 multitudes died of it, which made the King
 backward, and the men more so; secondly, The
 Marquis of *Montrose* having routed a whole bri-
 gade of *Lesly's* best horse, and carried all before
 him, wrote to his Majesty, that he did not now
 want assistance, but was in hopes, in a few days,
 to send a body of foot into *England*, to his Ma-
 jesty's assistance.—This over confidence of his
 was his ruin; for, on the contrary, had he ear-
 nestly pressed the King to have marched, and
 then in with his horse, the King had done it,
 and been absolutely master of *Scotland* in a fort-
 night's time; but *Montrose* was too confident,
 and defied them all till at last they got their for-
 ces together, also *Lesly*, with his horse out of
England, and worsted him in two or three en-
 counters, and then never left him till they drove
 him out of *Scotland*.

While his Majesty staid at *Worcester* several
 messengers came to him from *Chester* for relief,
 being

being exceedingly straitened by the forces of the parliament: in order to which, the King marched, but *Shrewsbury* being in the enemy's hands, he was obliged to go round by *Ludlow*, where he was joined by some foot out of *Wales*. I took this opportunity to ask his Majesty's leave to go by *Shrewsbury* to my father's, and taking only two servants, I left the army two days before they marched.

This was the most unfoldier-like action that ever I was guilty of, to go out of the army to pay a visit, when a time of action was just at hand; and, though I protest I had not the least intimation, no not from my own thoughts, that the army would engage, at least before they came to *Chester*, before which I intended to meet them; yet it looked so ill, so like an excuse, or a sham of cowardise, or disaffection to the cause, and to my Master's interest, or something I know not what, that I could not bear to think of it, nor never had the heart to see the King's face afterward.

From *Ludlow* the King marched to relieve *Chester*; *Pointz*, who commanded the parliament's forces, followed the King, with design to join with the forces before *Chester*, under Colonel *Jones*, before his Majesty's could come up. To that end *Pointz* passes through *Shrewsbury* the day that the King marched from *Ludlow*; yet the King's forces got the start of him, and forced him to engage. Had the King engaged him but three hours sooner, and consequently farther off from *Chester*, he had ruined

ined him; for *Pointz's* men not able to stand the shock of the King's horse, gave ground, and would in half an hour more been beaten out of the field; but Colonel *Jones*, with a strong party from the camp, which was within two miles, came up in the heat of the action, fell on in the King's rear, and turned the scale of the day: the body was, after an obstinate fight, defeated, and a great many gentlemen of quality killed and taken prisoners; the Earl of *Lichfield* was of the number of the former, and 67 officers of the latter, with 1000 others.

The King with about 500 horse got into *Chester*, and from thence into *Wales*, whither all that could get away made up to him as fast as they could, but in a bad condition.

This was the last stroke they struck; the rest of the war was nothing but taking all his garrisons from him, one by one, till they finished the war, with the captivating his person, and then, for want of other business, fell to fighting with one another.

I was quite disconsolate at the news of this last action, and the more because I was not there; my regiment was wholly dispersed, my lieutenant-colonel, a gentleman of good family, and a near relation to my mother, was prisoner, my major and three captains killed, and most of the rest prisoners.

The King, hopeless of any considerable party in *Wales*, *Bristol* being surrendered, sent for Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice*, who came to him. With them, and Lord *Digby*, Sir
X x *Marmaduke*

Marmaduke Langdale, and a great train of gentlemen, his Majesty marched to *Newark* again; left a thousand horse with Sir *William Vaughan*, to attempt the relief of *Chester*, in doing which he was routed the second time by *Jones* and his men, and entirely dispersed.

The chief strength the King had in these parts was at *Newark*, and the parliament were very earnest with the *Scots* to march southward, and to lay siege to *Newark*; and while the parliament pressed them to it, they sat still and delayed it, several heats began, and some ill blood between them, which afterward broke out into open war. The *English* reproached the *Scots* with pretending to help them, and really hindering their affairs. The *Scots* returned, that they came to fight for them, and were left to be starved, and could neither get money nor cloaths. At last they came to this, the *Scots* would go to the siege, if the parliament would send them money, but not before: however, as people sooner agree in doing ill, than well, they came to terms, and the *Scots* came with their whole army to the siege of *Newark*.

The King, perceives the siege, calls his friends about him, tells them, he sees his circumstances are such, that they can help him but little, nor he protect them, and advises them to separate. Lord *Digby* and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, with a strong body of horse, attempted to get into *Scotland*, to join *Montrose*, who was still in the Highlands, though reduced to a low ebb; but these gentlemen were fallen upon on every

every side and routed, and at last being totally broken and dispersed, they flew to the Earl of *Derby's* protection in the isle of *Man*.

Prince *Rupert*, Prince *Maurice*, Colonel *Gerard*, and above 400 gentlemen, all officers of horse, laid their commissions down, and seizing upon *Wootton* house for a retreat, made proposals to the parliament to leave the kingdom, upon their parole, not to return again in arms against the parliament, which was accepted, though afterward the Princes declined it. I sent my man post to the Prince to be included in this treaty, and for leave for all that would accept of like conditions, but they had given in the list of their names, and could not alter it.

This was a sad time; the poor remains of the King's fortune went every where to wreck; every garrison of the enemy was full of the cavalier prisoners, and every garrison the King had were beset with enemies, either blocked up or besieged. *Goring* and Lord *Hopton* were the only remainder of the King's forces, which kept in a body, and *Fairfax* was pushing them with all imaginable vigour with his whole army, about *Exeter*, and other parts of *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*.

In this condition the King left *Newark* in the night, and got to *Oxford*. The King had in this city 8000 men, the towns of *Banbury*, *Farrington*, *Dunington* castle, and such places as might have been brought together in 24 hours, 15 or 20000 men, with which if he had then resolved to have quitted the place, and collected

lected the forces in *Worcester*, *Hereford*, *Lichfield*, *Ashby-de-la-Zouch*, and all the small castles and garrisons he had thereabouts, he would have had near 40000 men, which might have beaten the *Scots* from *Newark*, Colonel *Jones* from *Chester*, and all, before *Fairfax*, who was in the west, could be able to come to their relief, and this his Majesty's friends in *North-Wales* had concerted; and, in order to do it, Sir *Jacob Ashby* gathered what forces he could, in our parts, and attempted to join the King at *Oxford*, and to have proposed it to him; but Sir *Jacob* was entirely routed at *Stow on the Would*, and taken prisoner, and of 3000 men not above 600 came to *Oxford*.

All the King's garrisons dropt one by one; *Hereford* which had stood out against the whole army of the *Scots* was surprised by six men and a lieutenant, dressed up as country labourers, and a constable pressed to work, who cut the guards in pieces, and let in a party of the enemy.—*Chester* was reduced by famine, all the attempts the King made to relieve it being frustrated.—Sir *Thomas Fairfax* routed Lord *Hopton* at *Torrington*, and drove him to such extremities, that he was forced up into the farthest corner of *Cornwall*. Lord *Hopton* had a gallant body of horse with him of nine brigades, but no foot; *Fairfax*, a great army.

Heartless, and tired out with continual news of ill success, I had frequent meetings with some gentlemen, who had escaped from the rout of Sir *William Vaughan*, and we agreed upon a meeting

meeting at *Worcester* of all the friends we could get, to see if we could raise a body fit to do any service; or, if not, to consider what was to be done. At this meeting we had almost as many opinions as people; our strength appeared too weak to make any attempt, the game was too far gone in our parts to be retrieved; all we could make up did not amount to above 800 horse.

It was unanimously agreed not to go into the parliament as long as our royal Master did not give up the cause; but in all places, and by all possible methods, to do him all the service we could. Some proposed one thing, some another; at last we proposed getting vessels to carry us to the isle of *Man* to the Earl of *Derby*, as Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, Lord *Digby*, and others had done. I did not foresee any service it would be to the King's affairs, but I started a proposal, that marching to *Pembroke* in a body, we should there seize upon all the vessels we could, and embarking ourselves, horses, and what foot we could get, cross the *Severn* sea, and land in *Cornwall*, to the assistance of Prince *Charles*, who was in the army of Lord *Hopton*, and where only there seemed to be any possibility of a chance for the remaining part of our cause.

This proposal was not without its difficulties, as, how to get to the sea side, and when there, what assurance of shipping. The enemy, under Major-general *Langborn* had over-run *Wales*, and it would be next to impossible to effect it.—

We

We could never carry our propofal with the whole affembly; but however, about 200 of us refolved to attempt it, and meeting being broke up without coming to any conclufion, we had a private meeting among ourfelves to effect it.

We difpatched private meffengers to *Swanzy* and *Pembroke*, and other places; but they all difcouraged us from the attempt that way, and advifed us to go higher towards *North-Wales*, where the King's intereft had more friends, and the parliament no forces. Upon this we met, and refolved, and having fent feveral meffengers that way, one of my men provided us two fmall veffels in a little creek near *Harlegb* caſtle, in *Merionethſhire*. We marched away with what expedition we could, and embarked in the two veffels accordingly. It was the worſt voyage fure that ever man went; for firſt, we had no manner of accommodation for ſo many people, hay for our horſes we got little, or none, but good ſtore of oats, which ſerved us for our own bread, as well as provender for the horſes.

In this condition we put off to ſea, and had a fair wind all the firſt night, but early in the morning a fudden ſtorm drove us within two or three leagues of *Ireland*. In this pickle, ſea-fick, our horſes rolling about upon one another, and ourfelves ſtified for want of room, no cabins or beds, very cold weather, and very indifferent diet, we wiſhed ourfelves aſhore again a thouſand times; and yet we were not willing to go on ſhore in *Ireland*, if we could help it;
for

for the rebels having possession of every place, it would be just having our throats cut at once. Having rolled about at the mercy of the winds all day, the storm ceasing in the evening, we had fair weather again, but wind enough ; in two days and a night we came upon the coast of *Cornwall*, and, to our no small comfort, landed the next day at *St. Ives*, in the county of *Cornwall*.

We rested ourselves here, and sent an express to Lord *Hopton*, who was then in *Devonshire*, of our arrival, and desired him to assign us quarters, and send us his farther orders. His lordship expressed a very great satisfaction at our arrival, and left it to our own conduct to join him as we saw convenient.

We were marching to join him, when news came, that *Fairfax* had given an entire defeat at *Torrington*. This was but the old story over again ; we had been used to ill news a great while, and it was the less surprize to us.—Upon this news we halted at *Bodmin*, till we should hear farther ; and it was not long before we saw a confirmation of the news before our eyes ; for Lord *Hopton*, with the remainder of his horse, which he had brought off at *Torrington* in a very shattered condition, retreated to *Lanceston*, the first town in *Cornwall*, and hearing that *Fairfax* pursued him, came on to *Bodmin*. Hither he summoned all the troops that he had left, which when he had got together, were a fine body indeed of 5000 horse, but few foot but what were at *Pendennis*, *Barnstable*, and other

other garrisons; these were commanded by Lord *Hopton*; Lord *Goring* had taken shipping for *France*, to get relief, a few days before.

Here a grand council of war was called, and several things were proposed, but as it always is in distress, people are most irresolute, so it was here. Some were for breaking through by force, our number being superior to the enemy's horse. To fight them with their foot would be desperation, and ridiculous; and to retreat, would but be to coop up themselves in a narrow place, where at last they must be forced to fight upon disadvantage, or yield at mercy. Others opposed this as a desperate action, and without probability of success; and all were of different opinions. I confess, when I saw how things were, I was satisfied the game was lost, and was for the opinion of breaking through, and doing it now, while the country was open and large, and not being forced to it when it must be with more disadvantage; but nothing was resolved on, and so we retreated before the enemy.— Some skirmishes there happened near *Bodmin*, but none that were very considerable.

It was the first of *March* when we quitted *Bodmin*, and quartered at large at *Columb*, *St. Denis* and *Truro*, and the enemy took his quarters at *Bodmin*, posting his horse at the passes from *Padstow* on the north, to *Warbridge*, *Lestithel* and *Foy*, spreading from sea to sea, that now breaking through was impossible. There was no more room for council; for unless we had ships to carry us off, we had nothing to do but

but when we were fallen upon, to defend ourselves, and sell victory as dear as we could to the enemies.

The Prince of *Wales* seeing the distress we were in, and loath to fall into the enemy's hands, ships himself on board some vessels at *Falmouth*, with about 400 lords and gentlemen; and, as I had no command here, to oblige my attendance, I was once going to make one; but my comrades, whom I had been the principal occasion of bringing hither, began to take it ill, that I would leave them, and so I resolved we would take our fate together.

While thus we had nothing before us but a soldier's death, a fair field, and a strong enemy, and people began to look upon one another.—The soldiers asked how their officers looked, and every day we expected to be our last, when unexpectedly, the enemy's general sent a trumpet to *Truro* to Lord *Hopton* with a very handsome gentleman-like offer.

That, since the general could not be ignorant of his present condition, and that the place he was in could not afford him subsistence or defence; and especially considering that the state of our affairs were such, that if we should escape from thence, we could not remove to our advantage, he had thought good to let us know, *That if we would deliver up our horses and arms, he would, for avoiding the effusion of Christian blood, or the putting any unsoldiery extremities upon us, allow such honourable and safe conditions, as were rather better than our present circum-*

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stances

stances could demand, and such as should discharge him to all the world, as a gentleman, a soldier and a Christian.

After this followed the conditions he would give us, which were, *That all the soldiery, as well English as foreigners, should have liberty to go beyond the seas, or to their own dwellings as they pleased; and to such as shall chuse to live at home, protection for their liberty, and from all violence and plundering of soldiers, and to give them bag and baggage, and all their goods, except arms and horses.*

That for officers in commission, and gentlemen of quality, he would allow them horses for themselves and one servant, or more, suitable to their quality, and such arms as are suitable to gentlemen of such quality travelling in times of peace; and such officers as would go beyond sea, should take with them their full arms and number of horses as are allowed in the army to such officers.

That all the troopers should receive on delivery of their horses, 20s. a man, to carry them home; and the general's pass and recommendation to any gentleman who desired to go to the parliament to settle the composition for their estates.

Lastly, A very honourable mention of the general, and offer of their mediation to the parliament, to treat him as a man of honour, and one who has been tender of the country, and behaved himself with all the moderation and candour that could be expected from an enemy.

Upon the unexpected receipt of this message,

a council of war was called, and the letter read; no man offered to speak a word; the general moved it, but every one was loath to begin.

At last, an old colonel started up, and asked the general what he thought might occasion the writing this letter? The general told him, he could not tell; but one thing he was sure of, *viz.* That it was not for any want of force in their army to oblige us to other terms. Then a doubt was started, whether the King and Parliament were not in any treaty, which this agreement might not be prejudicial to.

This occasioned a letter to my Lord *Fairfax*, wherein our general returning the civilities, and neither accepting nor refusing his proposal, put it upon his honour, whether there was not some agreement or concession between his Majesty and the Parliament, in order to a general peace, which this treaty might be prejudicial to, or thereby be prejudicial to us.

Lord *Fairfax* ingenuously declared, " he had heard the King had made some concessions, and he heartily wished he would make such as would settle the kingdom in peace, that *Englishmen* might not wound and destroy one another; but that he declared he knew of no treaty commenced, nor any thing passed which could give us the least shadow of hope for any advantage in not accepting his conditions. At last telling us, that though he did not exult over our circumstances, yet if we thought fit, upon any such supposition, to refuse his offers, he was not to seek in his measures."

And

And it appeared so, for he immediately advanced his forlorns, and dispossessed us of two advanced quarters, and thereby straitened us yet more.—We had now nothing to say, but treat, and our general was so sensible of our condition, that he returned the trumpet with a safe conduct for commissioners at 12 o'clock that night; upon which a cessation of arms was agreed on, we quitting *Truro* to Lord *Fairfax*, and he left *St. Alban's* for us to keep our head quarters.—The conditions were soon agreed on, we disbanded nine full brigades of horse, and all the conditions were observed with the most honour and care by the enemy that ever I saw in my life.

Nor can I omit to make very honourable mention of this noble gentleman, though I did not like his cause; but I never saw a man of a more pleasant, calm, courteous, upright, honest behaviour in my life; and, for his courage and personal bravery in the field, that we had felt enough of. No man in the world had more fire and fury in him while in action, or more temper and softness out of it. In short (and I cannot do him greater honour) he came exceedingly near the character of my foreign hero, *Gustavus Adolphus*, and in my account, he is, of all the soldiers in *Europe*, the fittest to be reckoned in the second place of honour to him.

I had particular occasion to see much of his temper in all this action, being one of the hostages given by our general for the performance of the conditions, in which circumstance the general did me several times the honour to send
for

or me to dine ; and was exceedingly pleased to discourse with me about the passages of the wars in *Germany*, which I had served in ; he having been at the same time in the *Low Countries*, in the service of Prince *Maurice* ; but I observed at any time my civilities extended to commendations of his own actions, and especially in comparing him to *Gustavus Adolphus*, he would blush like a woman, and be uneasy, declining the discourse, and in this he was still more like him.—Let no man scruple my honorable mention of this noble enemy, since no man can suspect me of favouring the cause he embarked in, which I served as heartily against any man in the army ; but I cannot conceal extraordinary merit for its being placed in an enemy.

This was the end of our making war ; for now we were all under parole never to bear arms against the parliament ; and though some of us did not keep our word, yet I think a soldier's parole ought to be the most sacred in such case, that he may be the easier trusted at all times upon his word.—For my part I went home fully contented, since I could do my royal Master no better service, that I had come off no worse.

The enemy went now on in a full current of success, and the King reduced to the last extremity. *Fairfax*, by long marches, being come back within five miles of *Oxford* ; his Majesty hath to be cooped up in a town which could in no account hold long out, quitted the town in a disguise, leaving Sir *Thomas Glemham* governor,

vernor, and being only attended with Mr. *Alburnham* and one more, rode away to *Newark*, and there fatally committed himself to the honour and fidelity of the *Scots*, under General *Leven*.

There had been some little bickering between the parliament and the *Scots* commissioners, concerning the propositions which the *Scots* were for a treaty with the King upon, and the parliament refused it. The parliament, upon all proposals of peace, had formerly invited the King to come and throw himself upon the honour, fidelity and affection of his parliament; and now the King from *Oxford* offering to come up to *London*, on the protection of the parliament for the safety of his person, they refused him, and the *Scots* differed from them in it, and were for a personal treaty,

This, in our opinion, was the reason which prompted the King to throw himself upon the fidelity of the *Scots*, who really by their insidelity had been the ruin of all his affairs, and now by their perfidious breach of honour and faith with him, were virtually and mediately the ruin of his person.

The *Scots* were, as all the nation beside them were, surprised at the King's coming among them; the parliament began very high with them, and sent an order to General *Leven* to send the King to *Warwick* castle; but he was not so hasty to part with so rich a prize. As soon as the King came to the general, he signed an order to Colonel *Bellefleur*, the governor of *Newark*,

Newark, to surrender it, and immediately the *Scots* decamped homewards, carrying the King in the camp with them, and marching on, a route was ordered to be provided for the King to *Newcastle*.

And now the parliament saw their error, in refusing his Majesty a personal treaty, which if they had accepted (their army were not yet taught the way of huffing their masters) the kingdom might have been settled in peace. On this the parliament sent to General *Leven* to have his Majesty not *be sent*, which was their first language, but *be suffered to come to London, to treat with his parliament*; before it was, *Let the King be sent to Warwick castle*; now it was, *To let his Majesty come to London to treat with his people*.

But neither one or the other would do with the *Scots*; but we who knew the *Scots* best, were well assured there was *one thing* would do with them, if the other would not, and that was money; and therefore our hearts ached for the King.

The *Scots*, as I said, had retreated to *Newcastle* with the King, and there they quartered their whole army at large upon the country; the parliament voted they had no farther occasion for the *Scots*, and desired them to go home about their business. I do not say it was in these words, but in whatsoever good words their messages might be expressed, this and nothing less was the *English* of it. The *Scots* reply, by setting forth the losses, damages and
dues,

dues, the substance of which was, "pay us our money, and we will be gone, or else we will not stir." The parliament called for an account of their demands, which the *Scots* gave in, amounting to a million; but, according to their custom, and especially finding that the army under *Fairfax* inclined gradually that way, fell down to 500000*l.* and at last to four; but all the while this was transacting, a separate treaty was carried on at *London* with the commissioners of *Scotland*, and afterward at *Edinburgh*, by which it is given them to understand, that whereas upon payment of the money, the *Scots* army was to march out of *England*, and to give up all the towns and garrisons which they hold in this kingdom, so that they were to take it for granted, that it was the meaning of the treaty, that they should leave the King in the hands of the *English* parliament.

To make this go down the better, the *Scotch* parliament, upon his Majesty's desire to go with their army into *Scotland*, sent him for answer, that it could not be for the safety of his Majesty or of the state, to come into *Scotland*, not having taken the covenant, and this was carried in their parliament but by two voices.

The *Scots* having refused his coming into their kingdom, as was concerted between the two houses, and their army being to march out of *England*, the delivering up the King became a consequence of the thing unavoidable, and of necessity.

His Majesty thus deserted of those into whose
hands,

hands he had thrown himself, took his leave of the Scots general at *Newcastle*, telling him only, in few words, this sad truth, *that he was bought and sold*. The parliament commissioners received him at *Newcastle* from the Scots, and brought him to *Halmby* house, in *Northamptonshire*; from whence, upon the quarrels and feuds of parties, he was fetched by a party of horse, commanded by one Cornet *Joyce*, from the army, upon their mutinous rendezvous at *Tripplow Heath*; and, after this, suffering many violences, and variety of circumstances among the army, was carried to *Hampton Court*, from whence his Majesty very readily made his escape; but not having notice enough to provide effectual means for his more safe deliverance, was obliged to deliver himself to Colonel *Hammond* in the isle of *Wight*. Here, after some indifferent usage, the parliament pursued a farther treaty with him, and all points were agreed on but two. The entire abolishing episcopacy, which the King declared to be against his conscience, and his coronation oath; and the sale of the church lands, which he declared, being most of them gifts to God and the Church, by persons deceased, his Majesty thought could not be alienated without the highest sacrilege, and if taken from the uses to which they were appointed by the wills of the donors, ought to be restored back to the heirs and families of the persons who bequeathed them.

And these two articles so stuck with his Majesty, that he ventured his fortune and royal family,

mily, and his own life for them: however, at last, the King condescended so far in these, that the parliament voted his Majesty's concessions to be sufficient to settle and establish the peace of the nation.

This vote discovered the bottom of all the counsels which then prevailed; for the army, who knew if peace were once settled, they should be undone, took the alarm at this, and clubbing together in committees and councils, at last brought themselves to a degree of hardness above all that ever this nation saw; for, calling into question the proceedings of their masters who employed them, they immediately fell to work upon the parliament, removed Colonel *Hammond*, who had the charge of the King, and used honourably, placed a new guard upon him, dismissed the commissioners, and put a stop to the treaty; and following their blow, marched to *London*, placed regiments of foot at the parliament house door, and, as the members came up, seized upon all those whom they had down in a list as promoters of the settlement and treaty, and would not suffer them to sit; but the rest, being of their own stamp, were permitted to go on, carried on the designs of the army, revived their votes of non-addresses to the King, and then, upon the army's petition, to bring all delinquents to justice; the masque was thrown off, the word *all* is declared to be meant the King, as well as every man else they pleased. It is too sad a story, and to much a matter of grief to me, and to all good men,

to renew the blackness of those days, when law and justice were under the feet of power; the army ruled the parliament, the private officers their generals, the common soldiers their officers, and confusion was in every part of the government: in this hurry they sacrificed their King, and shed the blood of the *English* nobility without mercy.

The history of the times will supply the particulars which I omit, being willing to confine myself to my own accounts and observations; I was now no more an actor, but a melancholy observer of the misfortunes of my royal Master and his friends. I had given my parole not to take up arms against the parliament, and I saw nothing to invite me to engage on their side, but a world of confusion in all their counsels, and I always expected that in a chain of distractions, as it generally falls out, the last link would be destruction; and though I pretended to no prophecy, yet the progress of affairs brought it to pass, and I have seen Providence, who suffered, for the correction of this nation, the sword to govern and devour us, has at last brought destruction by the sword, upon the head of most of the party who first drew it.

If, together with the brief account of what concern I had in the active part of the war, I leave behind me some of my own remarks and observations, it may be pertinent enough to my design, and not unuseful to posterity.

1. I observed by the sequel of things; that it may be some excuse to the first parliament, who

who began this war, to say that they manifested their designs were not aimed at the Monarchy, nor their quarrel at the person of the King; because, when they had him in their power, tho' against his will, they would have restored both his person and dignity as a King, only loading it with such clogs of the people's power as they at first pretended to, *viz.* the militia, and the power of naming the great officers at court, and the like; which powers, it was never denied, had been stretched too far in the beginning of this King's reign, and several things done illegally, which his Majesty had been sensible of, and was willing to rectify; but they having obtained the power by victory, resolved so to secure themselves, as that whenever they laid down their arms, the King should not be able to do the like again: and thus far they were not to be so much blamed, and we did not, on our part, blame them, when they had obtained the power, for parting with it on good terms.

But when I have thus far advocated for the enemy, I must be very free to state the crimes of this bloody war, by the events of it. It is manifest there were among them, from the beginning, a party who aimed at the very root of government, and at the very thing which they brought to pass, *the deposing and murdering of their sovereign*; and, as the Devil is always master where mischief is the work, this party prevailed, turned the other out of doors, and overturned all that little honesty that might be in the first beginning of this unhappy strife.

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The consequence of this was, the presbyterians saw their error when it was too late, and then would gladly have joined the royal party, to have suppressed this new leaven, which had infected the lump; and this is very remarkable, that most of the first champions of this war, who bore the brunt of it, when the King was powerful and prosperous, and when there was nothing to be got by it but blows, first or last, were so ill used by this independent powerful party, who tripped up the heels of all their honesty, that they were either forced, by ill treatment, to take up arms on our side, or suppressed and reduced by them. In this the justice of Providence seemed very conspicuous, that these having pushed all things by violence against the King, and by arms and force brought him to their will, were at once both robbed of the end, their church-government, and punished for drawing their swords against their masters, by their own servants drawing the sword against them; and God, in his due time, punished the others too; for, what was yet farther strange, the punishment of this crime of making war against their King, singled out those very men, both in the army and in the parliament, who were the greatest champions of the presbyterian cause in the council, and in the field.—Some minutes too of circumstances I cannot forbear observing, though they are not very material, as to the fatality and revolutions of days and times.

A *Roman catholic gentleman of Lancashire*, a
very

very religious man in his way, who had kept a calculate of events, and had observed mightily the fatality of times, places and actions, being at my father's house, was discoursing once upon the just judgment of God in dating his providences, so as to signify to us his displeasure at particular circumstances; and, among an infinite number of collections he had made, these were some which I took particular notice of, and from whence I began to observe the like:

1. That King *Edward* the 6th died the very same day of the same month in which he caused the altar to be taken down, and the image of the blessed Virgin in the cathedral of *St. Paul's*.

2. That *Cranmer* was burnt at *Oxford* the same day and month that he gave *Henry* the 8th advice to divorce his Queen *Catharine*.

3. That Queen *Elizabeth* died the same day and month that she resolved, in her privy council, to behead the Queen of *Scots*.

4. That King *James* died the same day that he published his book against *Bellarmino*.

5. That King *Charles's* long parliament, that ruined him, began the very same day and month which that parliament began, that at the request of his predecessor robbed the *Roman* church of all her revenues, and suppressed abbeys and monasteries.

How just his calculations were, or how true the matter of fact, I cannot tell, but it put me upon the same in several actions and successes of
this

this war. And I found a great many circumstances, as to time and action, which befel both his Majesty and his parties first.—Then others which befel the parliament and presbyterian faction which raised the war.—Then the independent tyranny which succeeded and supplanted the first party.—Then the *Scots* who acted on both sides.—Lastly, the restoration and re-establishment of the loyalty and religion of our ancestors.

1. For King *Charles* the first. It is observable that the charge against the Earl of *Strafford*, a thing which his Majesty blamed himself for all the days of his life, and at the moment of his last suffering, was first read in the Lords house on the 30th of *January*, the same day of the month six years, that the King himself was brought to the block.

2. That the King was carried away prisoner from *Newark*, by the *Scots*, *May* 10, the same day six years that, against his conscience and promise, he passed the bill of attainder against the loyal, noble Earl of *Strafford*.

3. The same day seven years that the King entered the house of commons for the five members, which all his friends blamed him for, the same day the rump voted bringing his Majesty to trial, after they had set by the Lords for not agreeing to it, which was the 3d day of *January*, 1648.

4. The 12th of *May*, 1646, being the surrender of *Newark*, the parliament held a day of thanksgiving.

thanksgiving and rejoicing, for the reduction of the King and his party, and finishing the war, which was the same day five years that the Earl of *Strafford* was beheaded.

5. The battle at *Naseby*, which ruined the King's affairs, and where his secretary and his office were taken, was the 14th of *June* the same day and month the first commission was given out by his Majesty to raise forces.

6. The Queen voted a traitor by the parliament the 3d of *May*, the same day and month she carried the jewels into *France*.

7. The same day the King defeated *Essex* in the west, his son King *Charles* 2d, was defeated at *Worcester*.

8. Archbishop *Laud's* house at *Lambeth*, assaulted by the mob, the same day of the same month that he advised the King to make war upon the *Scots*.

9. Impeached the 15th of *December*, 1640, the same day twelvemonth that he ordered the common-prayer-book of *Scotland* to be printed, in order to be imposed upon the *Scots*, from which all our troubles began.

But many more, and more strange, are the critical junctures of affairs with the enemy, or at least more observed by me.

1. Sir *John Hotham*, who repulsed his Majesty and refused him admittance into *Hull* before the war, was seized at *Hull* by the same parliament for whom he had done it, the same

10th day of *August* two years that he drew the first blood in that war.

2. *Hambden* of *Buckinghamshire* killed the same day twelvemonth that the mob petition from *Bucks* was presented to the King about him, as one of the five members.

3. Young Captain *Hotham* executed the 1st of *January*, the same day that he assisted Sir *Thomas Fairfax* in the first skirmish with the King's forces at *Bramham-moor*.

4. The same day and month, being the 6th of *August*, 1641, that the parliament voted to raise an army against the King, the same day and month, in the year 1648, the parliament were assaulted and turned out of doors by that army, and none left to sit but who the soldiers pleased, which were therefore called the rump.

5. The Earl of *Holland* deserted the King, who had made him general of the horse, and went over to the parliament, and the 9th of *March*, 1641, carried the commons reproaching declaration to the King; and afterward taking up arms for the King against the parliament, was beheaded by them the 9th of *March*, 1648, just seven years after.

6. The Earl of *Holland* was sent to by the King to come to his assistance and refused, the 11th of *July*, 1641, and that very day seven years after was taken by the parliament at *St. Needs*.

7. Colonel *Massey* defended *Gloucester* against the King, and beat him off the 5th of *September*,

ber, 1643, was after taken by *Cromwell's* men fighting for the King, on the 5th of *September*, 1651, two or three days after the fight at *Worcester*.

8. *Richard Cromwell* resigning because he could not help it, the parliament voted a free commonwealth, without a single person or house of Lords, on the 25th of *May*, 1658; the 25th of *May*, 1660, the King landed at *Dover*, and restored the government of a single person and house of Lords.

9. *Lambert* was proclaimed a traitor by the parliament, *April* the 20th, being the same day he proposed to *Oliver Cromwell* to take upon him the title of King.

10. *Monk* being taken prisoner at *Nantwich* by *Sir Thomas Fairfax*, revolted to the parliament, the same day nineteen years he declared for the King, and thereby restored the royal authority.

11. The parliament voted to approve of *Sir John Hotham's* repulsing the King at *Hull*, the 28th of *April*, 1642; the 28th of *April*, 1660, the parliament first debated in the house the restoring the King to the crown.

12. The agitators of the army formed themselves into a cabal, and held their first meeting to seize on the King's person, and take him into their custody from *Holmby*, the 28th of *April*, 1647; the same day 1660, the parliament voted the agitators to be taken into custody, and committed as many of them as could be found.

13. The parliament voted the Queen a traitor for assisting her husband the King, *May* the 2d, 1643. her son King *Charles* 2d, was presented with the votes of parliament to restore him, and the present of 50000l. the 3d day of *May*, 1660.

14. The same day the parliament passed the act for recognition of *Oliver Cromwell*, *October* the 13th, 1654. *Lambert* broke the parliament and set up the army *October* the 13th, 1659.

Some other observations I have made, which not being so pertinent I forbear publishing, among which I have noted the fatality of some days to parties, as,

The 2d of *September*, *Essex* defeated in *Cornwall*; *Oliver* died; city works demolished: for the King.

The 2d of *September*, the fight at *Dunbar*; the fight at *Worcester*; the oath against a single person past; *Oliver's* first parliament called: for the enemy.

The 29th of *May*, Prince *Charles* born; *Leicester* taken by storm; King *Charles* 2d restored: for the King.

Fatality of circumstances in this unhappy war, as,

1. The *English* parliament called in the *Scots*, to invade their King, and are invaded themselves by the same *Scots*, in defence of the King
whole

whose case, and the design of the parliament the *Scots* had mistaken,

2. The *Scots*, who unjustly assisted the parliament to conquer their lawful Sovereign, contrary to their oath of allegiance, and without any pretence on the King's part, are afterward absolutely conquered and subdued by the same parliament they assisted.

3. The parliament, who raised an army to depose their King, deposed by the very army they had raised.

4. The army broke three parliaments, and were at last broke by a free parliament and all they had done by the military power, undone at once by the civil.

5. Abundance of the chief men, who by their fiery spirits involved the nation in a civil war, and took up arms against their Prince, first or last met with ruin or disgrace from their own party.

1. Sir *John Hotbam* and his son, who struck the first stroke, both beheaded or hanged by the parliament.

2. Major-general *Masse* three times taken prisoner by them, and once wounded at *Worcester*.

3. Major-general *Langborn*. 4. Colonel *Poyer*: and, 5. Colonel *Powell*, changed sides, and at last taken, could obtain no other favour than to draw lots for their lives; Colonel *Poyer* drew the dead lot, and was shot to death.

6.

6. Earl of *Holland*, who, when the House voted who should be reprieved, Lord *Goring*, who had been their worst enemy, or the Earl of *Holland*, who, excepting one offence, had been their constant servant, voted *Goring* to be spared, and the Earl to die.

7. The Earl of *Effex*, their first general.

8. Sir *William Waller*.

9. Lieutenant-general *Ludlow*.

All disgusted and voted out of the army, that they had stood the first shock of the war, to make way for the new model of the army, and introduce a party.

In all these confusions I have observed two great errors, one of the King, and the other of his friends.

Of the King; that when he was in their custody, and at their mercy, he did not comply with their propositions of peace before their army, for want of employment, fell into heats and mutinies; that he did not at first grant the *Scots* their own conditions, which, if he had done, he had gone into *Scotland*; and then, if the *English* would have fought the *Scots* for him, he had a reserve of his loyal friends, who would have had room to have fallen in with the *Scots* to his assistance, who were after dispersed and destroyed in small parties attempting to serve him,

While his Majesty remained at *Newcastle*, the Queen wrote to him, persuading him to make peace

peace upon any terms ; and in politics her Majesty's advice was certainly the best : for, however low he was brought by a peace, it must have been better than the condition he was then in.

The error I mention of the King's friends was this, that after they saw all was lost, they could not be content to sit still, and reserve themselves for better fortunes, and wait the happy time when the divisions of the enemy would bring them to certain ruin ; but must hasten their own miseries by frequent fruitless risings, in the face of a victorious enemy, in small parties ; and I always found these effects from it.

1. The enemy, who were always together by the ears, when they were let alone, were united and reconciled when we gave them any interruption ; as particularly, in the case of the first assault the army made upon them, when Colonel *Pride*, with his regiment garbled the house, as they called it, at that time, a fair opportunity offered ; but it was omitted till it was too late : that insult upon the house had been attempted the year before, but was hindered by the little insurrections of the royal party, and the sooner they had fallen out, the better.

2. These risings being desperate, with vast disadvantages, always suppressed, and ruined all our friends ; the remnants of the cavaliers were lessened, the stoutest and most daring were cut off, and the King's interest exceedingly weakened,

ened; there not being less than thirty thousand of his best friends cut off in the several attempts made at *Maidstone, Colchester, Lancashire, Pembroke, Pontefract, Kingston, Preston, Warrington, Worcester*, and other places. Had these men all reserved their fortunes to a conjunction with the *Scots*, at either of the invasions they made into this kingdom, and acted with the conduct and courage they were known masters of, perhaps neither of those *Scots* armies had been defeated.

But the impatience of our friends ruined all; for my part, I had as good a mind to put my hand to the ruin of the enemy as any of them, but I never saw any tolerable appearance of a force able to match them, and I had no great mind to be beaten, and then hanged. Had we let them alone, they would have fallen into so many parties and factions, and so effectually have torn one another to pieces, that whichever party had come to us, we should, with them, have been too hard for all the rest.

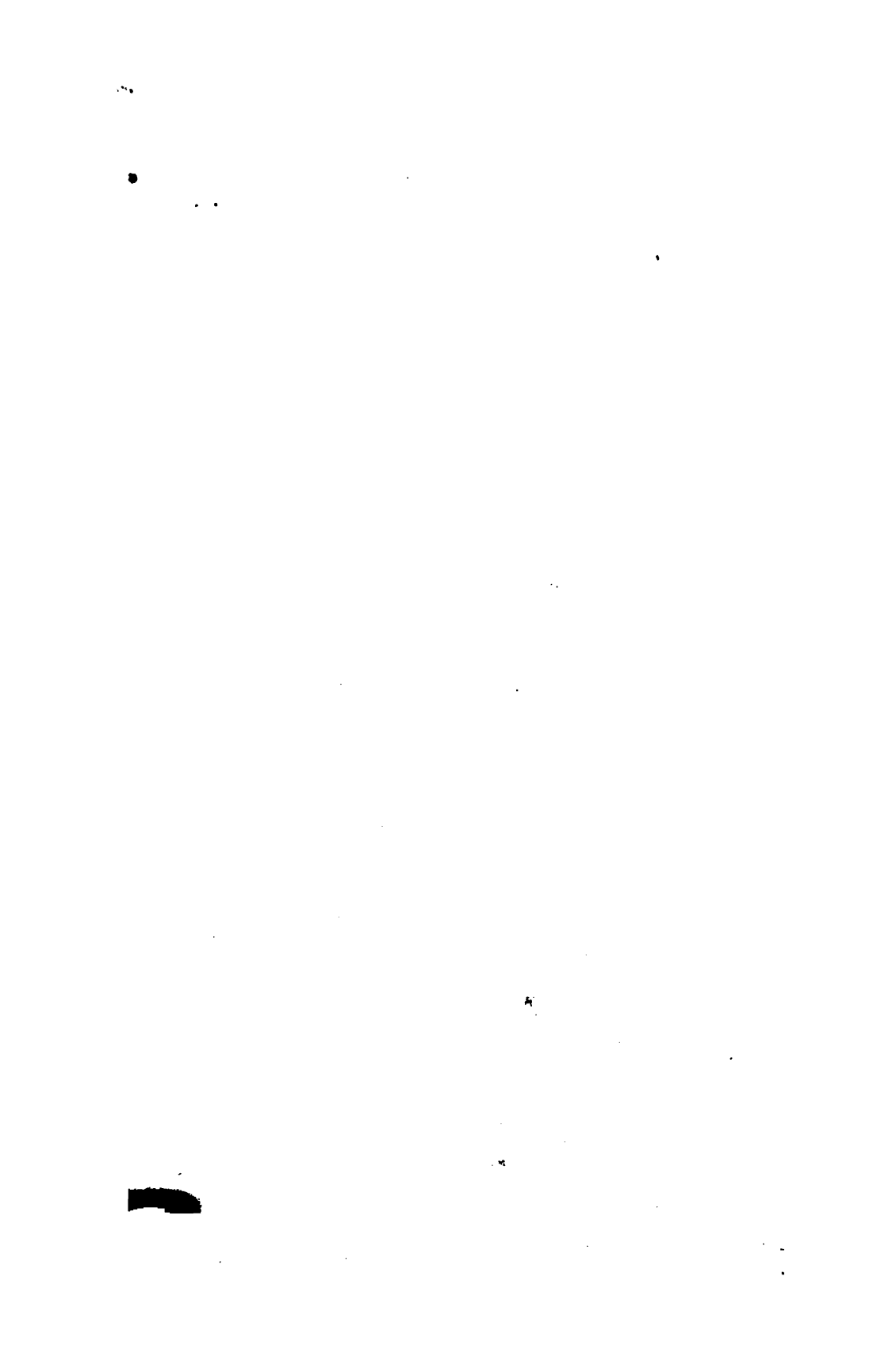
This was plain, by the course of things afterward, when the independent army had ruffled the presbyterian parliament, the soldiery of that party made no scruple to join us, and would have restored the King with all their hearts, and many of them did join us at last.

And the consequence, though late, ended so; for they fell out so many times, army and parliament, parliament and army, alternately pulling one another down so often, till at last
the

the presbyterians, who began the war, ended it; and, to be rid of their enemies, rather than for any affection to the monarchy, restored King *Charles* the second, and brought him in on the very day that they themselves had formerly resolved the ruin of his father's government, being the 29th of *May*, the same day 20 years, that the private cabal in *London* concluded their secret league with the *Scots*, to embroil his father, King *Charles* the first.

F I N I S.

THE generous Reader will, it is hoped, excuse not being told of little typographical Errors that may appear in this Book, by an ERRATA, in the usual Way; as when they arise, the Correction will be easily made with his Pen.



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